DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 282 429 FL 016 728

AUTHOR Glass, Amee
TITLE Ngaanyatjarra Sentences. Work Papers of SIL-AAB, Series A, Volume 7.
INSTITUTION Summer Inst. of Linguistics, Darwin (Australia). Australian Aborigines Branch.
PUB DATE Feb 83
NOTE 104p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Creoles; Descriptive Linguistics; Ethnic Groups; Foreign Countries; *Grammar; *Indigenous Populations; Kernel Sentences; Language Research; Morphology (Languages); Phrase Structure; Sentence Combining; *Sentence Structure; Structural Analysis (Linguistics); Suprasegmentals; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS Aboriginal People; *Australia; *Ngaanyatjarra

ABSTRACT

A descriptive study of Ngaanyatjarra, an Australian Aboriginal language, examines two major areas of sentence structure. First, it describes the grammatical structure of the sentence, beginning with the simplest sentence and moving into verb clusters, complex sentences, and juncture strategies. Second, it outlines the meaning and usage of various sentence types. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

S. Hargrave

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Series A Volume 7

NGAANYATJARRA SENTENCES

by Amee Glass

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES BRANCH
DARWIN
FEBRUARY 1983

FL016728

© SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

ISSN 0810 9971
ISBN 0 86892 255 2

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA
Cataloguing-in-publication Data

Glass, Amee.
Ngaanyatjarra sentences.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 86892 255 2.

1. Ngaanyatjarra language. I. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Australian Aborigines Branch. II. Title. (Series: Work papers of SIL-AAB. Series A; no. 7).

499'.15

PREFACE

These Work Papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

Both series include both reports on current research and on past research projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Work Papers, these volumes are being circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

Views expressed by the authors are not necessarily those of SIL.

The publication of this volume was partially funded by grants from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

To order individual volumes of the Work Papers, or to place a standing order for either series, write:

Bookseller
SIL
PO Berrimah
Darwin NT 5788
Australia

S.K. Ray
Series Editor

INTRODUCTION TO SERIES A VOLUME 7

This monograph gives insight into two major areas of Ngaanyatjarra sentences. Firstly, we are given a description of the gramatical structure of the sentence, beginning with the simple sentence and moving into verb clusters, complex sentences and juncture strategies. Secondly, the meaning and usage of various sentence types is outlined for us.

The author, Amee Glass, brings to this subject almost 20 years of accumulated knowledge and experience. She and her partner, Dorothy Hackett, lived and worked among the Aboriginal people at Warburton Ranges under the auspices of the United Aborigines Mission until late 1982. They are now continuing this work with the Ngaanyatjarra Bible Project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Preface		iii
Introduction to Series A Volume 7		v
0.	Introduction	1
1.	Declarative and Imperative Sentences	2
	1.1 The Simple Declarative Sentence	2
	1.2 The Simple Imperative Sentence	4
2.	Clause Expansion and the Verb Cluster Concept	6
	2.1 The Single-Verb Clause	7
	2.2 The Multi-Verb Clause (Verb Cluster)	7
	2.2.1 Verbs Joined by Coordination	7
	2.2.2 Verbs Joined by Participial Linking	10
	2.2.2.1 Participial Linking (Consecutive)	11
	2.2.2.2 Participial Linking (Simultaneous)	12
3.	Sentence Expansion	14
	3.1 Clauses Joined by Same-Subject Coordination	14
	3.2 Clauses Joined by Different-Subject Coordination	15
	3.3 Clauses Joined by Participial Linking (Consecutive)	18
	3.4 A Comparison of Juncture Strategies	19
	3.5 Direct Quotation	21
4.	Subordination and Multi-Verbal Embedding	22
	4.1 Two Subordinate Structures	23
	4.2 Multi-Verbal Embedding	25
	4.3 Subordination with Nominal Function	27
	4.3.1 As a Major Argument of a Matrix Clause	27
	4.3.2 Embedded Within the NP (i.e. Relative Function)	28
	4.3.3 Relative Clauses With Same Subject as the Matrix Clause	31
	4.3.4 As an Object Complement	32

4.3.5 As a Sensory Complement 33
4.4 Subordination with Adverbial Function 34
4.4.1 'Circumstance' 35
4.4.1.1 'Circumstance ss' 35
4.4.1.2 'Causal Circumstance ss' 37
4.4.1.3 'Circumstance ds' 38
4.4.2 Negative 39
4.4.3 'Mistaken-Thought' 40
4.4.4 'Purpose' 40
4.4.4.1 'Purpose ss' 41
4.4.4.2 'Purpose ds' 42
4.4.5 Aversive 42
4.4.6 Deprivative 43
4.4.7 'Purpose' & 'Negative' Embedded in 'Circumstance ds' 43
4.5 Comparison of Verbal and Nominal Suffixes 44
5. Non-Indicative Sentences 46
5.1 Imperative 48
5.2 Optative 49
5.2.1 The Optative Sentence Standing Alone 50
5.2.2 Optative Sentence Linked to an Imperative Clause by Conjunction 51
5.2.3 Optative Sentence Linked to an Imperative Clause by Juxtaposition 51
5.2.4 The Polar Interrogative Optative 52
5.3 Contrafactual 53
5.3.1 The Wish 54
5.3.2 The Contrafactual Condition 55
5.3.3 The Refutation 56
5.4 Frustrated Potential 56
5.4.1 'Would Have' 57
5.4.2 'Should Have' 57
5.4.3 Comparison between Contrafactual 2 and Frustrated Potential 1 58

5.5 Expectation 59
5.5.1 The Non-Desired Expectation 59
5.5.2 The Unfulfilled Expectation 60
5.5.3 Expectation Sentence with *-tjaku* 61
5.6 Illustrative 61
5.7 Counter-Assumptive 62
5.8 Counter-Hypothetical 64
5.8.1 Description of the Counter-Hypothetical 64
5.8.2 Comparison of the Contrafactual 3, Counter-Assumptive and the Counter-Hypothetical 65
5.9 Prohibitive 65
Appendix 67
Footnotes 89
References 93

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

abs	absolutive	md	modal
avers	aversive	mt	mistaken thought
c	customary	neg	negative
ca	counter-assumptive	nom	nominative
cacirc	causal circumstance	nomz	nominalization
cf	contrafactual	NP	noun phrase
ch	counter-hypothetical	ob	object
circ	circumstance	oc	object complement
def	definite	opt	optative
depriv	deprivative	p	past
ds	different subject	pf	perfective
erg	ergative	pr	present
emph	emphatic	pro	prohibitive
excl	exclamation	pt	participle
exp	expectation	pur	purpose
ext	extensive	quo	quotative
f	future	ref	reflexive
fp	frustrated potential	reg	regressive
hab	habitual	sc	sensory complement
ig	irrealis general	ss	same subject
ill	illustrative	3ps	third person singular

imm	imminent	-	indicates stress placement in a reduplicated stem, morpheme boundary within a word
inc	inclusive		
int	intentive		
ins	instrument	=	the form following is an enclitic
I.O.	indirect object	+	the meaning following is encoded by a zero morpheme
ipf	imperfective		
loc	locative	.	the meanings on either side of this symbol are encoded by the one morpheme

Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 7
February 1983

NGAANYATJARRA SENTENCES

Amee Glass

0. INTRODUCTION

Ngaanyatjarra[1] sentences have presented two analytical challenges: firstly, how to describe the processes by which verbs are joined together forming clauses and sentences; secondly, how to understand the usage and meaning of numerous sentence types which, although frequently used, are beyond the scope of basic declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. Sections one to four deal with the first challenge, while the second is dealt with in section five.

To speak simply, this monograph[2] describes the structure and the meaning of Ngaanyatjarra sentences. These are of course somewhat interwoven.

I have identified the following sentence types in Ngaanyatjarra: declarative, interrogative (polar and non-polar), imperative, contrafactual, optative, counter-assumptive, illustrative, expectation, frustrated potential, counter-hypothetical, prohibitive, and cessative. Of these, the interrogative and cessative are not described here since they have been adequately described in the chapter on the clause in Glass & Hackett (1970).

In this monograph I will first of all describe the declarative and imperative in simple (single-verb, single-clause) sentences. In the two following sections I will describe the juncture strategies[3] that join verbs and clauses within the larger units (including direct quotation). Examples cited are from both declarative and imperative sentences.

A key feature of the analysis of the structure of the Ngaanyatjarra sentence is the postulation of a verb cluster or multi-verb clause.[4] This will be described in section two. The way verb-clusters and single-verb clauses are joined into sentences will be described in section three.

In section four I will describe the various types of subordination possible in Ngaanyatjarra and the way in which multi-verb clauses are subordinated.

In section five I will describe the other eight sentence-types which, along with imperative, I have for convenience labelled non-indicative. In analyzing the sometimes subtle differences between these non-indicative sentences I have been greatly helped by Dr. Anna Wierzbicka's scheme of using natural language to explain meaning.[5] The description presented here is the result of composing semantic explications for each of the non-indicative types and subtypes. However, I have not included the explications in this section but in an appendix.

These non-indicative sentences have a wide range of usage. The imperative is used for commands and hortatives. The contrafactual is used for wishes, contrary-to-fact conditions, and a type of 'put-down'. The optative is used for something one wants to happen and which seems fairly likely to happen under certain conditions. A polar-interrogative optative requests affirmation of something one expects to be so. The counter-assumptive makes a definite statement about something that would not, could not or should not happen. The illustrative cites something that is known to happen in order to describe something else. There are two types of expectation sentence. The non-desired expectation is used for something one would expect to happen under certain circumstances, but one does not desire to happen. The unfulfilled expectation remarks on something that has not happened but that one would have expected to happen. The frustrated potential is used for something that could have happened but didn't. The counter-hypothetical is used for something that is not likely to happen. The prohibitive is used to forbid an action that appears imminent.

1. DECLARATIVE AND IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

1.1 THE SIMPLE DECLARATIVE SENTENCE

The simple declarative sentence consists of one clause which may be verbal or non-verbal.[6] In this section only single-verb clauses are described.

The independent verb forms in Ngaanyatjarra are shown in Table 1.1. Where the clause is verbal the verb may be realis (past or present),

irrealis general (future or customary sense), habitual, intentive, negative past, or negative future (negative intention). The aspect of the verb may be either perfective or imperfective according to the restrictions on the particular tense/mood.

Past Perfective

(1) *Ka=latju mularrpartu mirrka wirta-rnu.*
&.ds=we truly food+abs cook-p.pf

'And truly we cooked food.'

Past Imperfective

(2) *Nyina-rranytja=rna yurlta.*
sit-p.ipf=I not going hunting

'I was sitting at home not going hunting.'

Present

(3) *Tjiinya=lanya Yurntal-tu nintipu-ngkula wangka*
you know= us.inc daughter-erg teach-pr talk

murtuny-murtuny-tja.
piece-ins

'You see, Daughter is teaching us with the syllables.'

Future Perfective

(4) *Nyangka tjinguru=latju ya-nku yunguntjarra.*
&.ds maybe=we go-f.pf tomorrow

'And maybe we will go tomorrow.'

Future Imperfective

(5) *Ka=rna tirtu mirra-ma*
&.ds=I still shout-f.ipf

'And I will keep on shouting.'

Habitual

(6) *Ngayulu=latju nyuntu-ku tirtu tjapi-lpayi.*
I.nom=we you-for still ask-hab

'We are still praying for you.'

Intentive

(7) *Nganku=rnatju kutitja-kitja.*
I.nom=emph go-int

'I intend to go.'

Negative Past

(8) *Tungun-tungunarri-ngkutjamunu-rtu wiya-rtu.*
become obstinate-neg-emph no-emph

'(He) didn't disobey at all.'

Negative Future (intention)

(9) *Ngurra-ku=rna mapitja-kitja-munu.*
camp-to=I go-int-neg

'I do not intend to go to camp.'

1.2 THE SIMPLE IMPERATIVE SENTENCE

The simple imperative sentence consists of one clause, the verb of which is irrealis modal. The aspect may be either perfective or imperfective.

In my analysis I use the term imperative to include first person singular and plural imperatives such as those illustrated in examples (11) and (13) which other analysts may choose to call hortative.

Perfective

(10) *Kuka=ya nga-la.*
meat=you eat-md.pf

'Eat meat all of you.'

(11) *Nya-wa=rna*
see-md.pf=I

'Let me see.'

Imperfective

(12) *Pitja-ma=ya*
come-md.ipf=you

'You all keep on coming.'

(13) *Minarli pirni-nya palunya-piinypa=la watja-nma.*
boy many-abs that-like=we.inc tell-md.ipf
'Like that let us keep on telling the boys.'

TABLE 1.1

INDEPENDENT VERB FORMS IN NGAANYATJARRA

Citation Forms: ***kulintja*** 'to listen' ***wirrtjantja*** 'to come quickly'

	Perfective	Imperfective	Regressive
Realis Past	*kulirnu* 'listened'	*kuliranytja* 'was listening'	*wirrtjantja* 'came quickly here'
Present		*kulira* 'is listening'	
Irrealis - General future, conditional customary	*kulilku* 'will listen etc'	*kulinma* 'will keep on listening'	*wirrtjanma* 'will come quickly here'
- modal	*kulila* 'listen'	*kulinma* 'keep on listening'	*wirrtjanma* 'come quickly back here'
Cessative	*kuliltjarra* 'stop listening'		
Intentive	*kulilkitja* 'want to listen'	*kuliranytjakitja* *kulira nyinakitja* 'want to keep on listening'	
Habitual		*kulilpayi* 'always listens' 'always listened'	
Negative Past	*kulintjamunu* 'didn't listen'	*kuliranytjamunu* 'wasn't listening'	
Negative Future	*kulilkitjamunu* 'will not listen'		

2. CLAUSE EXPANSION AND THE VERB-CLUSTER CONCEPT

Typical sentences in Ngaanyatjarra narratives present some problems in analysis. Let us consider example (1).

(1) *Kati-ngu=latju paa-rnu wanti-ngu, pula*
bring-p.pf=we cook-p.pf leave-p.pf ant-hill+abs

kutitja-ngu parraputa-ranytja.
go-p.pf playfully spear-p.ipf

'We brought it and cooked it and left it (left it cooking), and went and were playfully spearing ant-hills.'

In this sentence there are five finite verbs. But how many clauses? We could consider that there are five clauses joined by juxtaposition. But if so, how do we explain that the object of the final clause occurs before the preceding intransitive clause?

We could consider that it is all one clause, since all the verbs share a common subject. But how do we explain that the object of the first three verbs is the wild-cat (not stated according to the rules of zero anaphora, see Glass 1980:28ff), while the object of the final verb is the ant-hills, and the next-to-final verb is intransitive?

I would suggest that this sentence consists of two clauses each consisting of a verb cluster. I define a verb cluster as a series of verbs sharing a common subject and a common object with motion verbs indicating movement following the accomplishment of that action. Thus in example (1) the first cluster is introduced by the motion verb ***katingu*** 'brought' which enables the wild-cat to be cooked and left and the first verb in the second cluster is ***kutitjangu*** 'went' showing them moving in order to playfully spear the ant-hills. In example (2) the verb ***pitjayirnu*** 'came along' indicates movement in order to catch the rabbit, while *katinytja* 'brought' indicates movement after the rabbit was caught.

(2) *Pitja-yirnu=ya tjulya-rnu rabbit-pa kati-nytja.*
come-p.pf.ext=they catch-p.pf rabbit-abs bring-p.reg

'They came along caught a rabbit and came back.'

The importance of the motion verbs within a Ngaanyatjarra narrative is illustrated by one text that I have studied in detail. In this text there are 21 groups of juxtaposed finite verbs and in every group of more than two finite verbs, one of these is a motion verb.

In this section, I propose to describe the single-verb clause and the multi-verb clause (or verb cluster) showing how verbs in a cluster may

be joined by coordination or by participial linking.

2.1 THE SINGLE-VERB CLAUSE

In my analysis a single-verb clause may also be a simple sentence. Therefore to recapitulate I will set out here two examples of simple sentences from the previous section. Example (3) is a declarative and example (4) is an imperative.

(3) *Ka=latju mularrpartu mirrka wirta-rnu.*
&.ds=we truly food+abs cook-p.pf
'And truly we cooked food.'

(4) *Pitja-ma=ya.*
come-md.ipf=you
'You all keep on coming.'

2.2 THE MULTI-VERB CLAUSE (VERB CLUSTER)

There are two ways in which verbs may be joined into a verb cluster. These are coordination and participial linking.

2.2.1 VERBS JOINED BY COORDINATION

Coordination occurs joining verbs that follow each other in temporal sequence. Since the verbs in a verb cluster by definition share a common subject[7], only same-subject coordination occurs joining verbs within a cluster. However, where verb clusters are joined in a sentence, this may be either by same-subject or different-subject coordination. This will be described in section three.

Same-subject coordination is simply by juxtaposition and it is common for more than two verbs to be joined.

Coordination joins verbs in both declarative and imperative clauses and sentences. With declarative sentences coordination operates with the realis past and irrealis general (future or customary) tense/moods. The co-occurrence of these tense/moods with aspect is shown in Table 2.1. The verbs coordinated may be from only one tense/mood, i.e. from only one row on the table.

Where verbs are coordinated there may be a number of verbs in the perfective aspect (simple or extensive) and optionally a final verb in the imperfective (simple or extensive) or regressive aspect.

7

TABLE 2.1

CO-OCCURRENCE OF TENSE/MOOD AND ASPECT

Tense/Mood	ASPECT				
	Perfective		Imperfective		Regressive
	Simple	Extensive	Simple	Extensive	
realis past	*-rnu*	*-rayirnu*	*-ranytja*	*-rayintja*	*-ntja*
irrealis general (future/customary)	*-lku*	*-rayilku*	*-nma*	*-rayinma*	*-nma*
irrealis modal	*-la*	*-rayila*	*-nma*	*-rayinma*	*-nma*

N.B. All the forms given on the table are for the "I" conjugation.

I will illustrate coordination in declarative sentences (in realis past and irrealis general) and in imperative sentences.

A. Coordination in Declarative Sentences

In realis past

(5) Three verbs with perfective aspect

Katurri-ngu=latju mapitja-ngu Winpuly-tja tju-nu.
get up-p.pf=we go-p.pf Winpuly-at put-p.pf

'We got up went and put our things at Winpuly.'

(6) Extensive perfective, perfective and regressive aspects

Pitja-yirnu=ya tjulya-rnu rabbit-pa kati-nytja.
come-p.pf.ext=they catch-p.pf rabbit-abs bring-p.reg

'They came along caught a rabbit and brought it back.'

(7) Perfective and imperfective aspects

Tali-ngka=latju tju-nu nyina-rranytja.
sandhill-on=we put-p.pf sit-p.ipf

'We put our things down on the sand-hill and were sitting there.'

In irrealis general (customary)

(8) Three verbs with perfective aspect

Ka=ya pitja-ku tina nga-lku kutitja-ku
&.ds=they come-c.pf dinner+abs eat-c.pf go-c.pf

marlaku-rtu.
back-emph

'And they would come and eat dinner and go back.'

(9) Perfective and regressive aspects

Mungarrtji=ya mirrka mantji-lku pitja-ma.
afternoon=they food+abs get-c.pf come-c.reg

'In the afternoon they would get food and come back.'

(10) Perfective and imperfective aspects

Ka=ya nga-lku ngarri-ku katurri-ku nyina-ma.
&.ds-they eat-c.pf lie-c.pf get up-c.pf sit-c.ipf

'And they would eat, sleep get up and stay there.'

B. Coordination in Imperative Sentences

(11) Three verbs with perfective aspect

Mapitja[8] *warta kartarnta-rra kati.*
go+md.pf wood+abs break-md.pf bring+md.pf

'Go and break wood and bring it.'

(12) Perfective and imperfective aspects

Kutipitja=li kuka-ku parranya-ngama.
go+md.pf=we two inc meat-for look round-md.ipf

'Let us two go and look around for meat for a while.'

(13) Perfective and regressive aspects

Kapi-ku kutipitja tjuti-la kati-ma.
water-for go+md.pf pour-md.pf bring-md.reg

'Go for water, pour it and bring it back.'

2.2.2 VERBS JOINED BY PARTICIPIAL LINKING

Participial linking occurs where one or more verbs in the participle[9] form occur before a verb in the perfective or imperfective aspect. The verbs in the participle form are slightly subordinated to the verb which follows them, indicating information which is slightly backgrounded in relation to the event line.

Participial linking often operates with coordination to join verbs in a verb cluster. Two verbs may be joined by participial linking and then joined to other verbs by coordination. See examples (15), (16), (17), (18) & (20).

There are two types of participial linking:

1. Consecutive, indicating actions consecutive in time.

2. Simultaneous, indicating actions simultaneous in time.

The occurrence of past and present participles corresponds to these two types of participial linking. (For a description of the form and distribution of these participles see Glass & Hackett 1970:103-105).

2.2.2.1 PARTICIPIAL LINKING (CONSECUTIVE)

Participial linking (consecutive) operates to join verbs indicating actions that happened in temporal succession. The first action can be seen to be the necessary pre-requisite of the second.

A. Participial Linking (Consecutive) in Declarative Sentences

In realis past

(14) *Ka=latju tati-ra makukurraa-rnu.*
&.ds=we climb-p.pt run away-p.pf

'And we having climbed on, sped away.'

(15) *Nyangka kati-ngu nyintji walku tju-nkulalpi*
&.DS bring-p.pf spear+abs quandong+abs put-p.pt

nyinakati-ngu.
sit down- p.pf

'And (he) brought spears and quandongs and having put them down, sat down.'

In irrealis general (customary)

(16) *Kati-rrayilku=tjananya=ya minyma nyinatju-ra wanti-rra*
bring-c.pf.ext=them=they woman+abs set down-p.pt leave-p.pt

kutipitja-ku mingkurl-ku.
go-c.pf tobacco-for

'They would bring the women and having set them down and left them they would go for wild tobacco.'

(17) *Pitja-yilku warta purlka-la kumpi-ralpi nyina-ma.*
come-p c.pf.ext tree big-at hide-p.pt sit-c.ipf

'(The emu) would come along and having hid himself behind a big tree would stay (there).'

B. Participial Linking (Consecutive) in Imperative Sentences

(18) *Mapitja=ya kuka karnpi purlka-nya pu-ngkula kati.*
go+md.pf=you meat fat big-abs hit-p.pt bring+md.pf

'Go and having killed a fat animal bring it.'

(19) *Pitja=li ngamuntirri-rralpi nya-wa.*
come+md.pf=we two inc draw near-p.pt see-md.pf

'Let's come and having drawn near have a look.'

Since both participial linking (consecutive) and same-subject co-ordination operate to join verbs indicating actions performed by the same subject and consecutive in time, what is the reason for choosing one juncture strategy rather than the other? The answer, I believe, lies in the amount of focus one wishes to give to the action.

In regard to example (14) a native speaker found *Kalatju latirnu makukurraarnu** 'And we climbed on and sped away.' unacceptable. This is because the climbing on is a necessary adjunct to speeding away. It is difficult to conceive of a reason to put equal focus on the climbing on. However with (17) it was acceptable to say: *Pitjayilku warta purlkala kumpilku nyinama* 'would come along and hide himself behind a big tree and stay there.' Presumably this is because there are occasions when the action of hiding could be worthy of equal focus with the action of staying.

2.2.2.2 PARTICIPIAL LINKING (SIMULTANEOUS)

Participial linking (simultaneous) operates to join verbs indicating actions that happen simultaneously. The first verb is often a stance verb as in (20), (21), (24) & (25) or a verb that indicates how the second action was done as in (22).

There is a restriction in the language that two verbs in the imperfective aspect do not occur in succession. Where this would occur the first verb is in the participle form and the juncture strategy is participial linking (simultaneous). This is illustrated in examples (21), (22), (24) & (25).

The reason for this restriction is, I believe, that in Ngaanyatjarra the occurrence of verbs of the same tense/mood and aspect occurring in succession indicates actions occurring in succession. Since the imperfective aspect indicates an uncompleted action, for it to occur in succession would be a contradiction. The normal means of indicating simultaneous action is for one of the verbs to occur in the present participle form.

A. Participial Linking (Simultaneous) in Declarative Sentences

In realis past

(20) *Ka=litju mapitja-yirnu nyina-rra tjawa-rnu-tjawa-rnu.*
&.ds=we two go-p.pf-ext sit-pr.pt dig-p.pf-dig-p.pf

'And we two went along and sitting (there) dug and dug.'

(21) *Ka=ya wati pirni ngara-la ngarlpurri-ngkulanytja*
&.ds=they man many+abs stand-pr.pt play-p.ipf

pani-ngka.
penny-ins

'And the men were standing playing two-up.'

In irrealis general (customary)

(22) *Ka=ya mirra-rra yarlti-ma.*
&.ds=they shout-pr.pt call-c.ipf

'And shouting they would call them.'

(23) *Tjilku murtilya nyina-rranyangka mirrka tjuti-ra*
child big boy sit-ipf.circ-ds food+abs pour-pr.pt

tju-nkulayilku-tju-nkulayilku.
put-c.pf.ext-put-c.pf.ext

'When their sons are youths, they will pour seed and put it aside (for them).'

In the above example one could argue that the ground seed had to be poured out before it could be put aside. However, I believe that the 'pouring out and putting aside' is being viewed as one action and that this is the reason for the use of participial linking (simultaneous) here.

In the habitual

The habitual is not shown on Table 2.1 because it has only one form. It is basically an imperfective aspect and as such cannot occur in succession.

(24) *Nyina-rra=ya kuka nga-lkupayi.*
sit-pr.pt-they meat+abs eat-hab

'They used to stay there and eat meat.'

B. Participial Linking (Simultaneous) in Imperative Sentences

(25) *Nyina-rra miranykanyi-nma nyuntu-ku marlany-pa.*
sit-pr.pt look after-md.ipf your younger sibling-abs
'Stay and look after your younger brother.'

3. SENTENCE EXPANSION

In section one I described simple sentences, that is sentences consisting of a single clause, which, in turn, consist of a single verb.

In section two I described the clause, giving particular attention to multi-verb clauses (verb clusters) and the means by which verbs are joined to form verb clusters.

In this section I want to describe ways in which clauses (both single-verb and multi-verb) may be joined to form more complex sentences, and then go on to compare the juncture strategies described in this section and the previous one, and finally to describe how clauses are joined in direct quotation.

Clauses are joined by coordination and by participial linking (consecutive). Coordination may be either same-subject or different-subject. As we have seen, same-subject coordination operates to join verbs in a verb cluster by juxtaposition. With different-subject coordination the joining is by means of the switch-reference conjunction *ka/nyangka*. Participial linking (consecutive) operates joining clauses having different objects where the action of the first is subordinated to the action of the following clause.

3.1 CLAUSES JOINED BY SAME-SUBJECT COORDINATION

Although same-subject coordination commonly operates joining verbs in a clause (verb cluster), it is not particularly frequent joining two clauses. However, a single-clause sentence may be quite lengthy when that clause is a verb cluster with a large number of verbs joined by same-subject coordination.

There is often a pause between two clauses when they are joined by same-subject coordination.

Example (1) below shows a multi-verb clause joined to a single-verb clause by same-subject coordination.

(1) *Pitja-anu=litju raapita pu-ngu, kurrkarti puru pu-ngu.*
come-p.pf.ext=we two rabbit+abs hit-p.pf goanna +abs also hit-p.pf

'We came along and killed a rabbit, and also killed a goanna.'

Examples (2) and (3) show two multi-verb clauses joined by same-subject coordination.

(2) *Pitja-yirnu=latju*[10] *Multju-la ngarri-ngu, katurri-ngu mapitja-yirnu*
come-p.pf.ext=we Multju-at lie-p.pf get up-p.pf go.p.pf.ext

Murily-tja ngarri-ngu.
Murily-at lie-p.pf

'We came along and slept at Multju, got up and went along and slept at Murily.'

(3) *Kati-ngu=latju paa-rnu wanti-ngu, pula kutitja-ngu*
bring-p.pf=we cook-p.pf leave-p.pf ant-hill+abs go-p.pf

parraputa-ranytja.
playfully spear -p.ipf

'We brought it and cooked it and left it (left it cooking), and went and were playfully spearing ant-hills.'

In example (4) the first clause has three verbs while the second has a direct quotation.[11]

(4) *Paa-rnu=latju nga-langu nyina-ngu nya-ngu "Cyril-tu marlu*
cook-p.pf=we eat-p.pf sit-p.pf see-p.pf Cyril-erg kangaroo+abs

puru kati-ngu."
again bring-p.pf

'We cooked it and ate it and saw, "Cyril brought another kangaroo."'

3.2 CLAUSES JOINED BY DIFFERENT-SUBJECT COORDINATION

Different-subject coordination operates to join (with a switch-reference conjunction) clauses having different subjects, but nonetheless usually having an argument in common. That is, the object of the first clause may be the subject of the second, the subject of the first may be the object of the second, or the two clauses may share a common object.

Different subject coordination may also operate to join a clause which indicates the passage of time to a clause which indicates what happened next. The link between the clauses has the meaning of 'until' and this construction is illustrated in examples (8), (11) and (14).

The coordinating conjunctions *ka* or *nyangka*[12] occur joining the two clauses and indicating that the clause following the conjunction has a

different subject from the preceding clause. The clauses occur in one intonation group.

The greater number of examples of different subject coordination show single-verb clauses being coordinated. However, in examples (7), (8), (12) and (15) one of the clauses is a multi-verb clause.

The action in the clause following the conjunction is the logical consequence of the clause preceding the conjunction except in the 'until' type. However, to some extent this is true of all clauses joined by coordination. Each can be seen to be the logical consequence of the preceding action.

Examples of different-subject coordination are shown below firstly in declarative sentences with verbs in realis past, irrealis general (customary), and in habitual, and secondly in imperative sentences with verbs in irrealis modal.

A. Different-Subject Coordination in Declarative Sentences

In realis past

(5) object-subject

Ngalyayuntu-rnu=latju ka rurrku-rnu purlka-nya
push forward-p.pf=we &.ds roar-p.pf big-abs

'We pushed (the truck) forward and it roared loudly.'

(6) subject-object

Ngara-ngu=latju nyangka tirtu=lanyatju puru Ronald-tu
stop-p.pf=we &.ds still=us again Ronald-erg

walyku-rnu, tjilku Ronald-tu.
prevent-p.pf child Ronald-erg

'We stopped and still again the child Ronald prevented us.'

(7) object-object

Pirni-lu-rtu=yan spoilama-nu shower nyangka=lampa
many-erg-emph=you spoil-p.pf shower &.ds-our.inc

yarra-rnu warni-ngu.
dismantle-p.pf throw-p.pf

'You all spoiled our shower and it was dismantled and thrown away.'

(8) 'until'

Ngurri-rayirnu=latju *ka=lanyatju* *nyiimarra-lu* *pitja-ngu*
search-p.pf.ext=we &.ds=us lightning-erg come-p.pf

rulyupu-ngkulayirnu.
hit-p.pf.ext

'We searched for some time until lightning came and struck around us for some time.'

In irrealis general (customary)

(9) object-subject

Tjiinya *mara-lu* *rurrmupu-ngku* *ka* *paalyukati-ku.*
you know hand-erg rub-c.pf &.ds fall-c.pf

'You see (they) would rub the seed with their hands (to free the husks) and the seed would fall out.'

(10) object-object

Ka=ya *ninti-lku=tjanampa* *ka=ya* *nga-lku.*
&.ds=they give-c.pf=to them &.ds=they eat-c.pf

'And they would give them (the flour) and they would eat it.'

(11) 'until'

Ngara-ku-ngara-ku *ka* *yimiya* *pitja-ku* *kaninytjarra.*
stand-c.pf-stand-c.pf &.ds emu+abs come-c.pf underneath

'(He) would wait (up the tree) until the emu would come along underneath.'

In habitual

(12) subject-object

Tjarrpa-rra=rna *wirrtja-lpayi* *nyangka=rni* *tirtu*
enter-p.pt=I come quickly-hab &.ds=me always

nyirti-lpayi.
anoint-hab

'Having gone in (to the shower) I always come quickly and she always anoints me.'

B. Different-Subject Coordination in Imperative Sentences

(13) object-object

Tjarrpatju-rra *ka* *walypala-lu* *pu-wa.*
put in-md.pf &.ds whiteman-erg hit-md.pf

'Put (the dog) in and let the whiteman kill it.'

(14) 'until'

Nyina-ma=la *ka* *nyinnga* *wiyarri.*
sit-md.ipf=we inc &.ds winter+abs become finished+md.pf

'Let's stay here until winter is over.'

Example (15) shows a type of coordination common in imperative sentences. The action of the person in the first clause is a prerequisite for the action in the following clause. In this example it is necessary for the subject of the first clause to come in order to join with the other person in going etc.[13]

(15) *Wirrtja-la* *nyangka=li* *kutipitja* *warta-ku* *pu-wa*
come quickly-md.pf &.ds=we two inc go+md.pf wood-for hit-md.pf

kati *walypala-ku* *ninti-la.*
bring+md.pf whiteman-to give-md.pf

'Come and let us two go for wood, make (artifacts), bring them and give them to the whiteman.'

3.3 CLAUSES JOINED BY PARTICIPIAL LINKING (CONSECUTIVE)

Participial linking (consecutive) operates joining clauses within a sentence as well as joining verbs within a clause (which was described in section two).

Example (16) shows single-verb clauses joined by participial linking.

(16) *Ka* *walykumunu* *wanti-rralpi* *palyamunu-nya* *nga-langu.*
&.ds good+abs leave-p.pt bad-def.abs eat.p.pf

'And having left the good (one) he ate the bad (one).'

Example (17) shows one single-verb clause and one multi-verb clause.

(17) *Waru* *nyuyu-ralpi* *kutitja-ngu* *warta* *kartarnta-nu.*
fire+abs heap up-p.pt go-p.pf tree+abs break-p.pf

'Having heaped up the fire he went and broke (a branch off) a tree.'

Example (18) is a complex one. Three clauses are joined by participial linking. The first is a multi-verb clause. The second, although it is a single-verb clause, has a multi-verb clause embedded. The third is also a multi-verb clause.

(18) *Yuu* *wirrtja-rnu* *tiwa-ngkatja kartarnta-ralpi,*
windbreak+abs come quickly-p.pf far-from break-p.pt

kupulu *kumpitju-nu wanti-tjanu* *mantji-ralpi,*
club+abs hide-p.pf leave-pf.cacirc get-p.pt

yuutjaka-tjaka-rnu *yawarra-rnu wirrtja-ntja.*
put with windbreak-p.pf drag-p.pf come quickly-p.reg

'Having come quickly and broken off a (branch for a) windbreak from a long way off, having picked up the club he had hid and left, he put it with the windbreak dragged it along and came back.'

3.4 A COMPARISON OF JUNCTURE STRATEGIES

As we have seen, there are two juncture strategies each having two sub-types.

Coordination joins two or more clauses the actions of which occur consecutively. There are two subtypes according to whether the clauses have same or different subjects. Same-subject coordination joins both verbs within a clause (verb cluster) and clauses within a sentence. Different-subject coordination joins clauses within a sentence but not verbs within a clause (since by definition verbs in a verb cluster have only one subject). The verbs joined by coordination are fully independent forms.

Participial linking joins two or more verbs having the same subject. There are two semantic subtypes (with some distributional constraints) according to whether the action of the verbs is consecutive or simultaneous. Participial linking (consecutive) also joins two clauses within a sentence. With participial linking the first verb is in the participle form.

Table 3.1 shows the overlap of the parameters: same subject or different subject and consecutive or simultaneous action.

Table 3.2 shows the type of verbs that are joined by the two strategies, and the occurrence of the two joining verbs or clauses.

TABLE 3.1

	Same Subject	Different Subject
Consecutive Action	ss coordination participial linking (consecutive)	ds coordination
Simultaneous Action	participial linking (simultaneous)	

TABLE 3.2

	Participles	Independent Verbs
Joining Verbs	participial linking (consecutive) participial linking (simultaneous)	ss coordination
Joining Clauses	participial linking (consecutive)	ss coordination ds coordination

3.5 DIRECT QUOTATION

Direct quotes are an area part way between clause juncture and subordination. Although the quote is syntactically subordinate to the verb of speech, independent verb forms occur in the sentence which is quoted.

In Ngaanyatjarra direct quotes may follow verbs of saying, thinking or seeing. The following verbs commonly occur: ***watjarnu*** 'said', ***kulirnu*** 'thought', ***nyangu*** 'saw', ***tjapirnu kulirnu*** 'asked', ***payirnu*** 'growled at', ***yaka-yakarnu*** 'forbad', and ***witurnu*** 'sent'.

(19) ***Betty-lu watja-rnu, "Harley-nya-lu kanyi-nma."***
Betty-erg say-p.pf Harley-abs-him keep-md.ipf

'Betty said, "Look after Harley."'

(20) ***Ka=litju kuli-rnu, "Tjutu-la=li wanti-rralpi tjawa-la***
&.ds=we two think-p.pf cover-md.pf=we two leave-p.pt dig-md.pf

nya-wa."
see-md.pf

'And we two thought, "Let's cover it in and leave it and dig and see."'

(21) ***Ka=pula pitja-ngu tjapi-rnu kuli-rnu, "Wanytjatja=n***
&.ds=they two come-p.pf ask-p.pf listen-p.pf where=you

nyina-rranytja nyuntulu?"
sit-p.ipf you+nom

'And they two came and asked, "Where have you been?"'

Several sentences may, of course, occur in the direct quotation as in (22) below. This example also shows embedding of a quote within a quote.

(22) ***Sunday mungarrtji Mr. Green-tu watja-rnu, "Pitja-ngu munga-ngka***
Sunday afternoon Mr. Green-erg say-p.pf come-p.pf night-in

purni-lu muni tju-nu rabbit-ku trap-ngka. Nyangka=rna
horse-erg lip+abs put-p.pf rabbit-poss trap-in. &.ds=I

ngarri-ngu tjirnturri-ngu pitja-ngu nya-ngu 'Wiyarri-ngu
lie down-p.pf become day-p.pf come-p.pf see-p.pf disappear-p.pf

rabbit-ku trap.'"
rabbit-poss trap+abs

Sunday afternoon Mr. Green said, "A horse came last night and put its lip in the rabbit trap. I got up this morning and came and saw, 'The rabbit trap has disappeared!"'

The quotative enclitic =*nyu* sometimes occurs attached to the first syntactic unit of the quotation as in (23).

(23) *Ka Mr. Kininmonth-tju pitja-ngu watja-rnu, "Nyuntuku*
&.ds Mr. Kininmonth-erg come-p.pf say-p.pf your

little boy=rna=nyu kati-ku."
little boy=1=quo bring-f.pf

'And Mr. Kininmonth came and said, "I will bring your little boy."'

When the verb *nyangu* 'saw' occurs introducing the direct quote, it appears that the quote is the thought that passes through the person's mind on seeing the object.

(24) *Katurri-ngu=rna nya-ngu, "Wapa nyaa-nyka ngaa-nya ngara-la?"*
get up-p.pf=1 see-p.pf (excl) what-emph this-abs stand-pres

'I got up and saw, "Why, whatever is this standing here?"'

(25) *Nyangka=n nya-ku, "Ngaa-nya=watjala tjinguru Docker River-ku."*
&.ds=you see-f.pf this-abs=say perhaps Docker River-to

'And you will see, "Say, here perhaps is (the road) to Docker River."'

(26) *Ngaanya kutjupa-lu nya-ku-nya-ku, "Ayi ngayulu=rna tjinguru*
but other-erg see-f.pf-see-f.pf oh 1=1 perhaps

yarlti-ku walykumunu kungka."
call-f.pf good girl+abs

'But someone may look about and see, "Oh perhaps I will marry that nice girl."'

4. SUBORDINATION AND MULTI-VERBAL EMBEDDING

In Ngaanyatjarra there is a great deal of subordination of clauses (single-verb or multi-verb). There are clauses that occur taking the place of an NP in subject or object position, there are clauses that are embedded in the modifier slot of an NP (i.e. having a relative function) and there are clauses that are embedded within the various adverbial type slots within the matrix clause.

There are two types of subordinate construction:

Firstly there is what may be termed a relator-axis construction, (Longacre 1964:37ff) consisting of a clause with a finite verb or verbs and a post-posed relator *palunya-* with the case-marking indicating the slot in which it is embedded.

Secondly there is a clause, the final verb of which is marked with subordinate clause suffixation, each type characteristic of the slot in which it is embedded.[14] Table 4.1 shows the subordinate suffixation for verbs.

Diachronically it could be shown that all these subordinate clause suffixes have arisen from nominalization plus case-marking. However, I will limit myself to a description of the synchronic usage of subordination.

I have chosen to view subordinate clause structures as being of two types: nominal (occurring with the normal position and function of an NP or adjective) and adverbial (occurring with the normal position and function of time words and manner adjectives). These are not two discrete categories. It may be rather that they form a continuum which has a cut-off point. Nonetheless I have found it convenient to view them as two categories.

Another notable feature of Ngaanyatjarra is that this embedding is not limited to single-verb clauses but often involves multi-verb clauses where the verbs are joined in the various ways described in section two.

4.1 TWO SUBORDINATE CLAUSE STRUCTURES

The relator-axis construction consists of a clause with a finite verb (or verbs) followed by the relator *palunya-* 'that' with case-marking. The more common form of the subordinate construction is one where the verb (or final verb) has a special suffixation indicating the semantic type of subordination. The difference between these two types is illustrated in examples (1) and (2).

(1) *Waarrpu-wa pu-ngku=rna=nta palunya-kurtarra*.[15]
hurry-md.pf hit-f.pf=1=you that-avers

'Hurry lest I hit you.'

(2) *Waarrpu-wa pu-ngkutjakurtarra=rna=nta*.
hurry-md.pf hit-pf.avers=1=you

'Hurry lest I hit you.'

The same two structures also occur in relative clauses occurring in the qualifier slot of an NP.

TABLE 4.1

SUBORDINATE VERBAL SUFFIXATION

	Perfective	Imperfective
Nominal		
nominalization	----------	*-ranytja*
relative	*-ntja*	*-ranytja*
object complement	*-ntja*	*-ranytja*
sensory complement	*-ntja*	*-ranytja*
Adverbial		
'circumstance ss'	*-ntjalu*	*-ranytjalu*
'casual circumstance ss'	*-n(tja)tjanu(lu)*	*-rany(tja)tjanu(lu)*
'circumstance ds'	*-nnyangka*	*-ranyangka*
negative	*-ntjamaal(pa/tu)*	*-ranytjamaal(pa/tu)*
'mistaken-thought'	*-ntjakukantja(lu)*	*-ranytjakukantja(lu)*
'purpose ss'	*-lkitja(lu)*	*-ranytjakitja(lu)* *-ra nyinakitja(lu)*†
'purpose ds'	*-ltjaku*	*-ratjaku*
aversive	*-ltjakurtarra*	*-ratjakurtarra*
deprivative	*-ltjirratja*	----------

N.B. All the forms on the table are shown in the "l" conjugation.

† This form occurs commonly in Northern Ngaanyatjarra.

(3) *Pu-ngu=lu* *minyma* *nyarra* *hospital-ta* *ngara-lanytja-nya*.
hit-p.pf=3ps.ob woman there hospital-loc stand-ipf.nom-abs

'He hit the woman who is standing at the hospital.'

(4) *Pu-ngu-nku* *kurri* *pala* *ngara-la* *warrki-rra* *palunya-nya*.
hit-p.pf-his spouse there stand-pr swear-pr that-abs

'He hit his wife the one who is standing there swearing.'

(5) *Tjilku* *nyarra* *ngara-la* *tjurlpu* *yatu-ra* *palunya-lu=rni*
child there stand-pr bird+abs stone-pr that-erg=me

warrki-ngu.
swear-p.pf

'The child who is standing over there stoning birds swore at me.'

(6) *Tjilku* *nyarra* *ngara-la* *tjurlpu* *yatu-ranytja-lu=rni*
child there stand-pr.pt birds+abs stone-ipf.nom-erg=me

warrki-ngu.
swear-p.pf

'The child who is over there stoning birds swore at me.'

4.2 MULTI-VERBAL EMBEDDING

The embedding of clauses within the clause and the noun phrase is not limited to single-verb clauses, but may involve multi-verb clauses where the verbs are joined in the various ways described in section two. When this happens the subordination marker occurs only once, on the final verb, or on the relator *palunya-* but the scope of it extends over the whole clause regardless of how many verbs are joined together. Table 4.2 shows the co-occurrence of the various juncture strategies with the various subordinate types.[16] A number of generalizations may be made from this table.

Since the relator-axis construction is less common than the verbal construction, it is not surprising that for sensory complement, 'casual circumstance ss', 'mistaken-thought' and aversive I have no examples of a multi-verb clause occurring in a relator-axis construction. Relator-axis constructions do not occur at all as object complements or in negative, 'purpose' or deprivative subordination.

Different-subject coordination (described in section three) normally operates joining clauses within a sentence. For this reason we do not normally see it operating within subordinated structures. However I have one example, (76), where it appears to operate within the aversive subordination.

TABLE 4.2

SUBORDINATION OF MULTI-VERB CLAUSES

CO-OCCURRENCE OF SUBORDINATE TYPES AND JUNCTURE STRATEGIES

	Coord ss	Coord ds	Participial Linking	
			consec	simul
Nominalization .				■
Relative	■			■
Relative R.A.†	■			■
Object Complement	■			■
Sensory Complement	■			■
Sensory Complement R.A.				
'Circumstance ss'	■			
'Circumstance ss' R.A.				
'Causal Circumstance ss'	■			
'Causal Circumstance ss' R.A.				
'Circumstance ds'	■		■	■
'Circumstance ds' R.A.	■		■	
Negative				■
'Mistaken-thought'	■			
'Mistaken-thought' R.A.				
'Purpose ss'			■	
'Purpose ds'			■	
Aversive	■	■	■	
Aversive R.A.				
Deprivative			■	

† R.A. = relator-axis

There are possibly some gaps in the data. However there does seem to be some degree of complementation in regard to which subordination types prefer which juncture strategies.

'Circumstance ss', 'causal circumstance ss' and 'mistaken-thought' show only same-subject coordination.

'Purpose ss', 'purpose ds' and deprivative show only subordinate linking of the consecutive type. Negative shows only subordinate linking of the simultaneous type.

Aversive and 'circumstance ds' show the widest range of juncture strategies, while almost all the nominals show both same-subject coordination and subordinate linking of the simultaneous type.

4.3 SUBORDINATION WITH NOMINAL FUNCTION

A clausal structure, the final verb of which is suffixed by *-ntja* or *-ranytja* (nominalization, perfective or imperfective), may occur in any position where a noun or adjective would normally occur. Relator-axis constructions may also occur in these positions.

4.3.1 AS A MAJOR ARGUMENT OF A MATRIX CLAUSE

A nominalized construction or (more rarely) a relator-axis clause may occur as the major argument of a matrix clause. Here the only type of juncture is subordinate linking of the simultaneous type, as shown in the second part of example (7).

(7) *Tjiinya tungun-tungunarri-ngkulanytja-nya parturtu,*
you know disobey-ipf. nomz-abs aberrant

tungun-tungunarri-ngkula yungarra watja-ra makukurraara
disobey-pr.pt self speak-pr.pt run away-pr.pt

yarlti-rra makukurraa-ranytja-nya.
call to marriage-pr.pt run away-ipf.nomz-abs

'You see disobeying is aberrant, disobeying speaking for oneself running away calling to marriage and running away.'

(8) *Mulyartarri-nytja-nya palunya-nya palyamunu.*
steal-pf.nomz-abs that-abs bad+abs

'Stealing, that is bad.'[17]

(9) *Pirrtja pirni-nya palya-ranytja-nya=latju nya-kulayirnu.*
book many-abs make-ipf.nomz-abs=we see-p.pf.ext

'We watched the making of the books for a long time.'

4.3.2 EMBEDDED WITHIN THE NP (i.e. RELATIVE FUNCTION)

The nominalized or relator-axis construction may be embedded within an NP in the adjectival position, i.e. following the noun head. In these instances the case-marking occurs finally. These are instances of relative clauses. Here both same-subject coordination, as in (14), (15), (16), (22) & (23), and subordinate linking of the simultaneous type, as in (6), occur.

A. Embedded Within an NP with Ergative Case-Marking

(10) *Mitjitji* *nyarra-ngka* *train-ta* *nyina-rranytja-lu=rni* *nya-ngu.*
whitewoman there-loc train-loc sit-ipf.nomz-erg=me see-p.pf

'The whitewoman who was sitting in the train saw me.'

Examples (5) and (6) also show this.

B. Embedded Within an NP with Absolutive Case-Marking

I do not have many examples of relative clauses in intransitive subject position.

(11) *Tjilku* *munga-ngka* *yula-rranytja-nya* *waalkarra-ra* *pitja-ngu.*
child night-in cry-ipf.nomz-abs emerg-p.pt come-p.pf

'The child who was crying in the night came.'

Example (12) shows an intransitive subject which is later expanded by an appositional construction which is a relator-axis relative.

(12) *Kungkawirrmira tjiinya ngarnmanypalpi wiya walykumunu*
teenage-girl you know previously not good

nyina-rranytja kutjulpirtulpi, ngaa=ya minyma pamparri-ngu
sit-p.ipf previously this=they woman become old-p.pf

mirrirri-ngkulawarningu palunya-nya
die-p.pf.dis that-abs

'You know the teenage girls of the early days were not (like that), in the early days they were good, these ones who have now become old and died.'

However, there are numerous examples of relative clauses in object position. (3) and (4) are examples of this also.

(13) *Kurri=rna* *mantji-rnu pala-nya* *munkarra* *Kalgoorlie-la*
spouse+abs=I get-p.pf that-abs beyond Kalgoorlie-in

nyina-rranytja-nya.
sit-ipf.nomz-abs

'I got a wife, that one who is staying in Kalgoorlie.'

In the above example the NP is discontinuous. The relative clause is separated from the noun head by the verb of the matrix clause and also the case-marking on *pala-*. Example (20) also shows the case-marking separating the noun head from the relative clause.

In some instances, where the head noun is assumed to be obvious to the hearer, it is omitted. This is shown in (14), (15) and (16).

(14) *Pikatjarra kutipitja-ngu palunya Kalgoorlie-la*
sick go-p.pf that Kalgoorlie-in

nyina-rranytja-nya=rna yarlti-ngu.
sit-ipf.nomz-abs=I call to marriage-p.pf

'I married (that one) who being sick went and is in Kalgoorlie.'

(15) *Ngarri-ngu=latju tjirnturri-ngu mapitja-ngu Don-tu*
lie-p.pf=we become day-p.pf go-p.pf Don-erg

tjilturru-nu wanti-tja-nya wana-rnu nya-ngu yulirri-ngu
spear-p.pf leave-pf.nomz-abs follow-p.pf see-p.pf die-p.pf

kutjulpirtu.
previously

'We slept the night and went and followed (the one) that Don had speared and left and saw that it had died previously.'

(16) *Pitja-ngu nyarra tjutu-rnu wanti-ngu nyina-rranytja-nya*
come-p.pf there cover-p.pf leave-p.pf sit-ipf.nomz-abs

tjawa-ranytja.
dig-p.ipf

'(They) came and were digging (the holes) that she had covered in, left and was sitting by.'

Relator-axis clauses may also occur modifying NPs that are the object of *nyakunytja* 'see'. Note that this is not a sensory complement as described in section 2.5

(17) *Nyangka=lanyatju pitja-ngu watja-rnu, "Taya=latju nya-ngu*
&.ds=us come-p.pf say-p.pf tyre=we see-p.pf

kukurraa-rnu palunya."
run-p.pf that

'And they came and said, "We have seen the tyre-marks (of the car) that had run past."'

(18) *Ngirriki=litju tjawa-rnu-tjawa-rnu watja-rnu "Wiya*
grub+abs=we two dig-p.pf-dig-p.pf say-p.pf no

kutipitja-ku=rna nya-ku mii-ku sister-ku kuka yirritju-nu
go-f.pf=I see-f.pf my sister-'s meat+abs set on with

palunya.
dogs-p.pf that

'We dug and dug bardie-grubs and then she said, "No I will go and see my sister's meat that she has caught with the dogs."'

C. Embedded Within an NP with Indirect-Object Case-Marking

(19) *Tjilku tjii munga-ngka yula-rranytja-la kurluny-tja wangka-ngu.*
child there night-in cry-ipf.nomz-l.O. small-l.O. talk-p.pf

'He talked to the little child who was crying in the night.'

D. Embedded Within an NP with Allative Case-Marking

(20) *Ka=ya yarlti-rra kati-ngu tawun-kutu nyarra mirri*
&.ds=they call-p.pt bring-p.pf house-to there corpse

ngarri-rranytja-lakutu.
lie-ipf.nomz-to

'And having called him they brought him to the house, the one where the corpse was lying.'

(21) *Pitja-yirnu=ya pitja-ngu tjultjulpa nyarra Tjiitja-nya*
come-p.pf.ext=they come-p.pf thicket there Jesus-abs

nyina-rra palunya-latu.
sit-pr that-to

'They came along and came to the thicket where Jesus was sitting.'

(22) *One-day wirrtja-rnu parrawirrtja-rnu ngurra*
One day come quickly-p.pf come around quickly-p.pf camp

palunya nyarra nyina-ngu wanti-tja-ku.
that there sit-p.pf leave-pf.nomz-to

'It took him one day to go back to the camp there that he had stayed in and left.'

E. Embedded Within an NP with 'Origin' Case-Marking

(23) *Pirti=n nyuntulu nya-ngu wanti-ngu palunya-lamartatji*
hole+abs=you you see-p.pf leave-p.pf that-origin

mantji-rnu.
get-p.pf

'(I) got it from the hole that you saw and left.'

4.3.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH THE SAME SUBJECT AS THE MATRIX CLAUSE

There are several examples where a relative clause in object position has the same subject as that of the matrix clause. In these cases the absolutive case-marking *-nya* does not occur, but the relative clause is marked with *-lu*. (*-lu* occurs with a number of adverbial clauses marking ergative concord,[18] i.e. same-subject as that of the transitive matrix clause.) Here same-subject coordination is the common juncture strategy.

(24) ***Kutipitja-ngu=pula marlu kutjupa-nya tjilturru-nu***
go-p.pf=they two kangaroo other-abs spear-p.pf

wanti-tja-lu wana-rnu=pula pu-ngkulalpi .....
leave-pf.nomz-erg follow=they two hit-p.pt

'They two went and having followed and killed another kangaroo that they had speared and left.....'

(25) ***Nya-ngu=latju Tirrin-ta=latju ngarri-ngu wanti-tja-lu***
see-p.pf=we Tirrin-at=we lie-p.pf leave-pf.nomz-erg

ngurra=latju Warburton-nga-tjanu.
camp=we Warburton-from

'We saw (the place) at Tirrin where we had slept and left, our camp on the way from Warburton.'

(26) ***Ngaa-nya=rna watja-lku Stewart-ku=latju nyarnpi-ngu***
this-abs=I say-f.pf Stewart-for=we dance-p.pf

tjirnturri-nytja-lu.
become day-pf.nomz-erg

'I will tell you this (the story of how) we danced until morning for Stewart.'

There are also a few examples where the suffix *-tjanu*, elsewhere 'from', 'as a result of', marks the nominalized verb in a relative clause rather than the usual *-ntja*. In these examples there is a causal notion which is not easily rendered in an English translation. In example (27) it was because he had previously hid and left the hitting-stick that he could now come and pick it up. In (28) it was because they had left the dish by the water-hole that they could now come and drink from it.

(27) *Yuu* *wirrtja-rnu* *tiwa-ngkatja* *kartarnta-ralpi*
windbreak+abs come quickly-p.pf far-from break-p.pt

kupulu *kumpitju-nu* *wanti-tjanu*[19] *mantji-ralpi*
hitting stick hide-p.pf leave-pf.cacirc ss get-p.pt
..... *wirrtja-ntja.*
come quickly-p.reg

'He went quickly and having broken off (a branch for) a windbreak some distance away, and having got the hitting stick he had hidden and left ..... came back quickly.'

(28) *Ka=ya* *parrapitja-ngu* *ngurra-ku* *piti* *tju-nu* *kapi-ngka*
&.ds=they come around-p.pf camp-to dish put-p.pf water-loc

wanti-tjanu-lu *parrapitja-ngu* *tjiki-rnu.*
leave-pf.cacirc ss-erg come around-p.pf drink-p.pf

'And they arrived at the camp and came around and drank from the dish that they had put and left by the water-hole.'

4.3.4 AS AN OBJECT COMPLEMENT

Nominalized constructions also occur as, what I have termed, 'object complements'. These occur as objects of transitive verbs other than perception verbs. Here both same-subject coordination (as in 29) and subordinate linking of the simultaneous type (as in 30) occur.

(29) ...*ka=litju* *Don-tu=litju* *mirtu-ra* *wana-rnu*
&.ds=we two Don-erg=we two see tracks-pr.pt follow-p.pf

wiilyka *tjawa-rnu* *kutitja-nytja.*
cat+abs dig-p.pf go-pf.oc

'and Don and I tracked a cat that had gone off quickly.'

(30) *Ka=rna* *mii-lu* *warni-ngu* *tjilturru-nu* *wiilyka* *watipupa-rra*
&.ds=I I-nom throw-p.pf spear-p.pf cat+abs crouch across-pr.pt

kampa-rranytja.
cook-ipf.oc

'And I threw (the spear) and speared the wildcat that was lying there cooking.'

(31) *Pitja-yirnu* *kupulu* *wirrtja-rnu* *mantji-rnu* *ngurra-ngka*
come-p.pf.ext hitting-stick come quickly get-p.pf camp-in

pintiringara-lanytja.
lie-ipf.oc

'He came along, came quickly and got the hitting-stick that was lying in camp.'

The object complement clause is very similar to a relative clause in object position (see (3), (4) (13-18)). Indeed it cannot be said that the object complement clause is not identificational. However, the identification is rather in terms of what the modified noun is doing at the time of the action of the matrix clause, whereas in the earlier examples the identification is usually in terms of an action non-concurrent with that of the matrix clause. Despite the semantic similarities between the object complement and the relative clause in object position, there are a number of distributional and internal structural differences which have caused me to regard them as separate:

1. The relative clause in object position may precede or follow the matrix verb, whereas the object complement clause always follows the matrix verb.

2. The relative clause in object position always has *-nya* absolutive case-marking except where it has *-lu* marking ergative concord (examples (24-28)), whereas the object complement never has case-marking (or has zero case marking?).

3. The relative clause in object position frequently has a demonstrative in first position in the clause (3), (4), (14) and (16), whereas the object complement clause never has a demonstrative.

4. The relative clause in object position may occur without a noun head (14), (15), (16). However, the object complement clause never occurs without a noun head although it may be separated from it as in (31). Moreover the noun head could be regarded as the pivot between the two clauses as it is always the object of the matrix clause and the subject of the complement clause.

5. Although a relator-axis construction may occur as a relative clause in object position (4), relator-axis constructions do not occur as object complements.

4.3.5 AS A SENSORY COMPLEMENT

The nominalized verb commonly occurs as the final verb of a construction, that is the complement of a perception verb. Here both same-subject coordination (33) and subordinate linking of the simultaneous type (34) occur.

(32) .... *nyina-ngu nya-ngu wirrtja-ntja*.
sit-p.pf see-p.pf come quickly-pf.sc
'...(we) sat there and saw him come quickly.'

(33) *Mapitja-ngu nya-ngu Ngunytjurti-nya pitja-ngu nyina-rranytja.*
go-p.pf see-p.pf Mother-abs come-p.pf sit-ipf.sc

'(We) went and saw that Mother had come and was sitting there.'

(34) *Ka wirrtja-rnu nya-ngu purnurr-tu pupa-rra*
&.ds come quickly-p.pf see-p.pf stick-insect-erg crouch-pr.pt

tjawa-ranytja.
dig-ipf.sc

'And he came quickly and saw a stick-insect crouching digging.'

(35) *Pitja-ngu=ya nyina-ngu parrapitja-ngu nya-ngu Willys-nga*
come-p.pf=they sit-p.pf come around-p.pf see-p.pf Willys-abs

makukurraa-rnu palunya.
run away-p.pf that

Nyangka=lanyatju pitja-ngu watja-rnu.....
&.DS=us come-p.pf say-p.pf

'They came and sat and went around and saw that the Willys had gone. And they came and told us...'

The sensory complement is very similar to the object complement described above, (particularly in respect to the first four points delineated at the end of the previous section). However the sensory complement differs from the object complement in one important respect.

In discourse, perception verbs function as a switch-reference device. The participant introduced as the subject of the sensory complement continues to be the subject until a further change is indicated (usually by a switch-reference conjunction). This is so even if the change is back to the subject of the matrix clause. (See Glass 1980: 63 for a fuller description of this phenomenon).

The object complement, however, is an embedded structure. The subject of the matrix clause will continue to be the subject of the following sentences unless otherwise indicated by a switch-reference conjunction.

4.4 SUBORDINATION WITH ADVERBIAL FUNCTION

There are six semantic types of adverbial subordinate constructions. These are 'circumstance' (which includes time, cause and location), negative, 'mistaken-thought', 'purpose', aversive and deprivative.

Both 'circumstance' and 'purpose' have same-subject and different-subject varieties, depending on whether the subject of the subordinate construction is co-referent with that of the matrix clause. The aversive does not indicate same or different subjects.

4.4.1 'CIRCUMSTANCE'

The 'circumstance' constructions are not symmetrical. There are three subtypes, two indicating same-subject and one indicating different-subject.

'circumstance ss'	'circumstance ds'	'causal circumstance ss'
-ntjalu	*-nnyangka*	*-ntjanu(lu)*

The difference between the 'circumstance ss' and the 'causal circumstance ss' is a subtle one. The 'circumstance ss' gives information about the state of the subject at the time of the action of the matrix clause: 'how he was feeling', 'where he was', 'what else he was doing at the same time'. It is most commonly imperfective, although not necessarily so.

The 'causal circumstance ss' gives information about something the subject did which led to the action of the matrix clause. It is usually perfective in aspect, although not necessarily so. It is usually best translated by 'after' or 'as a result of'.

The 'circumstance ds' gives information about circumstances surrounding the action of the matrix clause. These circumstances are performed by a subject other than that of the matrix clause. The 'circumstance ds' could be said to provide background information.

The concept of 'circumstance' in Ngaanyatjarra includes something of the English concepts of 'cause' 'time' (what is happening contemporaneously) and 'location'. (In the case of 'causal circumstance ss' the 'location' concept is more one of 'source'). In order to give an English translation one must choose to focus on one of these concepts, but it is often difficult to choose which one because they are interwoven in Ngaanyatjarra.

4.4.1.1 'CIRCUMSTANCE SS'

Here same-subject coordination occurs as in (39). I have no examples of these with intransitive matrix clause.

(37) *Purtu yuntu-ranytja-lu=rna tili-lku.*
in vain push-ipf.circ.ss-erg=1 light-f.pf
'Being unable to push (the truck) I will set fire to it.'

(38) *Palunyalu tjuma watja-nma, tjiinya wiltja-ngka*
&.ss story+abs say-imp.ipf you know shade-in

nyina-rranytja-lu.
sit-ipf.circ.ss-erg

'And also tell stories, you know, while you're sitting in the shade.'

(39) *Kunmarnarra-lu nya-ngu wanti-tja-lu tjapi-rnu.*
Kunmarnarra-erg see-p.pf leave-pf.circ.ss-erg ask-p.pf

'Kunmarnarra, since she had seen (him) before asked him.'

There is a relator-axis construction which is perhaps best regarded as a type of 'circumstance ss' subordination. It consists of a clause plus *palunyalu*, and it always follows the matrix clause. It usually has the meaning 'after' although sometimes 'since' as in (43). However, for (44) the smoother translation would bring out an identificational aspect.

(40) ... *ninti-lku tjilku-ku mulya nyirti-lku palunyalu.*
give-c.pf child-to nose+abs smear on-c.pf that

'...(the man) would give (the ground seed) to the children, having first smeared the children's noses with it.' /'...after having smeared the children's noses with it.'

(41) *Palunyalu mara-lu lalyu-ralpi waru-ngka tju-nku yurnti-lku*
&.ss hand-erg spoon out-p.pt fire-in put-c.pf smooth-c.pf

palunyalu.
that

'And then (they) having spooned out the mixture with their hands would put it in the fire, after having smoothed a place.'

(42) *Ka=ya waalkarra-rnu nya-ngu "Munta palunya ngaa nyina-rra*
&.ds=they emerge-p.pf see-p.pf oh that here sit-pr

mulyartarri-ngu palunyalu."
steal-p.pf that

'And they emerged and saw, "Oh here he is sitting here, having stolen the fire.' /...after having stolen the fire."

(43) *Mr. Wade-nga ninti palunya-ku nya-ngu palunyalu.*
Mr. Wade-abs knowledgable that-for see-p.pf that

'Mr. Wade knows that (place,) since he has seen it.'

(44) *Nyangka=ya pupati-ngu ninti-rnu Tjawitja-ku kutjupa-kutjupa*
&.ds=they bow down-p.pf give-p.pf Joseph-to different

kati-ngu palunyalu.
bring-p.pf that

'And they bowed down and gave the things to Joseph, after having brought them.'/'And they bowed down and gave Joseph the different things they had brought.'

4.4.1.2 'CAUSAL CIRCUMSTANCE SS'

Most of the examples are single-verb clauses, but a multi-verb clause with same-subject coordination occurs in (47).

(45) *Palunya-nya-rtarrartu=litju kuli-ntjanu-lu*
that-abs-also=we two think-pf.carirc-erg

payi-rnu-payi-rnu ngayuku tjilku.
growl-p.pf-growl-p.pf my child+abs

'Because we two thought of that also we growled and growled at my child.'

(46) *Palunyalu kutipitja-ngu watja-rnu puurrpa purlka-la palunya-nya*
&.ss go-p.pf tell-p.pf boss big-l.o. that-abs

pu-ngkutjatjanu-lu.
hit-pf.cacirc.ss-erg

'And he went and told the big boss after he had killed that one.'/ ... that he had killed that one.'

(47) *Train-ta=latju tati-rnu nyina-rranytjanu-lu nya-ngu*
Train-in=we climb-p.pf sit-ipf.cacirc.ss-erg see-p.pf

Miss Goodfella-nya pitja-ngu.
Miss Goodfellow-abs come-p.pf

'After we had climbed on and were sitting in the train we saw Miss Goodfellow come.'

(48) *Ka=latju walypala kunyupa-nya tjapi-rnu=latju tina=latju*
&.ds=we whiteman other-abs.def ask-p.pf=we dinner=we

nga-langu palunya-tjanu-lu tjapi-rnu Louie-lu.
eat-p.pf that-after-erg ask-p.pf Louie-erg

'And we asked the other whiteman after we had eaten dinner, Louie asked him.'

4.4.1.3 'CIRCUMSTANCE DS'

Examples (49) and (50) show single-verb clauses.

(49) *Mirrparnarri-ngu munku=ra ninti-nnyangka.*
become angry-p.pf lot=to her give-pf.circ.ds

'She became angry because (he) gave a lot to her (the other wife).

(50) *Tjilturru-nku=rna=nta Ngunytjurti-nya=n pu-ngu palunya-ngka.*
spear-f.pf=I=you Mother-abs=you hit-p.pf that-because.ds

'I will spear you because you hit Mother.'

Examples (51), (52) and (53) show multi-verb clauses. The verbs within the clauses are joined by same-subject coordination. Note that the perfective verbs may be in the past, as in (53), or in the irrealis general (future or customary), as in (51) and (52).

(51) *Yurra-lku wanti-nyangka puru pitja-ku munga-ngka puru*
gather.cpf leave-pf.circ.ds again come-c.pf night-in again

tju-nku kutju pirti-ngka.
put-c.pf one+abs hole-in

'When (someone) gathers (the eggs) and leaves (the hole) (the mallee-hen) would again come in the night and lay one in the hole.'

(52) *Nyangka pirni-nya-rtu pukurlarri-ku angel pirni-nya*
&.ds many-abs.def-emph rejoice-f.pf angel many-def.abs

Katungkatja-nya one sinner pinkurraa-lku pitja-ku
God-abs one sinner turn around-f.pf come-f.pf

palunya-ngka.
that-because

'And everyone will rejoice, all the angels and God, when/because one sinner turns and comes to God.'

(53) *Ka=lampatju toyspa pirni-nya ninti-rayirnu wanti-nyangka=latju*
&.ds=for us toys many-def.abs give-p.pf.ext leave-pf.circ.ds=we

kati-ngu.
bring-p.pf

'And when we were given lots of toys we brought them.'

Subordinate linking of the simultaneous type is shown in (54) and of the consecutive type in (55) and (56).

(54) *Nyina-rra=rna nya-kulanyangka palya-rnu.*
sit-pr.pt=I see-ipf.circ.ds do-p.pf

'While I was sitting looking he did it.'

(55) *Wana-rnu-wana-rnu=pula kapi-ngka tjarrpa-rra*
follow-p.pf-follow-p.pf=they.two water-in enter-p.pt

mapitja-nyangka parrawana-rnu.
go-pf.circ.ds follow around-p.pf

'Those two followed and followed him, they followed him around where he having entered had gone into the water.'

(56) *Marla-wana pitja-nytja nganku=rna tati-ra kutipitja-ngu*
behind-way come-p.reg I=I climb-p.pt go-p.pf

palunyangka.
that-loc.ds

'She came later along the same way, where I had climbed on (to the truck) and gone away.'

4.4.2 NEGATIVE

Negative subordination is marked by the negative suffix *-maal-* which occurs after the nominalization suffixes *-ntja* perfective or *-ranytja* imperfective.

Relator-axis constructions do not occur with the negative. Subordinate linking of the simultaneous type as in (59) is the only juncture strategy that occurs with negative.

(57) *Pampu-ntjamaal-tu wanti.*
touch-pf.neg-erg leave+md.pf

'Don't touch it leave it.'

(58) *Ka kuka pirni-nya nga-lkunytjamaal-tu tju-nu wanti-ngu.*
&.ds meat many-def eat-pf.neg-erg put-p.pf leave-p.pf

'And he didn't eat any of the meat, he put it aside.'

(59) *Tjiinya walykumunu nyina-ma mulyartarri-ngkula yarlti-rra*
you know good sit-md.ipf steal-pr.pt call-pr.pt

makukurraa-ranytjamaal-tu.
run away-ipf.neg-erg[20]

'You know, keep on being good, not stealing and calling to marriage and running away.'

4.4.3 'MISTAKEN-THOUGHT'

'Mistaken-thought' subordination is marked by the 'mistaken-thought' suffix *-kukantja* which occurs after the nominalization suffixes *-ntja/-ranytja* or the relator *palunya-*.

The 'mistaken-thought' enclitic *=lkanyu* may optionally also occur on the first syntactic unit of the 'mistaken-thought'. Same-subject coordination is the only juncture strategy that occurs. (62)

(60) *Tjilku pirni-lu=ya tjiinya kuli-ra palya-palya=lkanyu*
child many-erg=they you know think-pr fun=mt

pitul-pa ngarri-rranytjakukantja-lu kapi-kukantja-lu.
petrol-abs lie-ipf.mt-erg water-mt-erg

'All the children, you know, are mistakenly thinking that petrol is lying about for fun, they mistakenly think it is (as harmless as) water.'

(61) *Kuli-rnu tjarrpa-ngu=lkanyu kapi-ngka palunya-kukantja.*
think-p.pt enter-p.pf=mt water-in that-mt

'(They) thought that they had gone into the water that's what they mistakenly thought.'

(62) *Nyangka=rna ngurlu-ra wana-rnu pirti-ngka=lkanyu*
&.ds=I frighten-pr.pt follow-p.pf hole-in=mt

mapitja-ngu tjarrpa-nytjakukantja-lu.
go-p.pf enter-pf.mt-erg

'And I chased it mistakenly thinking that it had gone in and entered a hole.'

4.4.4 'PURPOSE'

There are two types of 'purpose' subordination, one marked by *-lkitja(lu)* expressing a purpose to be carried out by the same subject as that of the matrix clause, and one marked by *-ltjaku* expressing a purpose to be carried out by a subject other than that of the matrix clause. Where ther are multi-verb clauses in either type of purpose subordination the only juncture strategy joining the verbs within the clause is subordinate linking of the consecutive type as shown in (65), (66) and (71).

I do not have any examples of relator-axis constructions as either type of 'purpose' subordination.

4.4.4.1 'PURPOSE SS'

(63) *Ka=rna yurra-lku kati-ma mungarrtji=lin*
&.ds=I gather-f.pf bring-f.reg afternoon=we two inc.

nga-lkukitja-lu.
eat-pf.pur.ss-erg

'And I will gather them and bring them back for us two to eat in the afternoon.'[21]

(64) *Wiya, pipe=tjinguru=lan mantji-lkitja kutipitja-ku.*
no pipe=perhaps=we inc get-pf.pur.ss go-f.pf

'Why perhaps it is to get the pipes we will go.'

(65) *Mirrparn-tu=ya wana-rnu tjilturru-ra tju-nkukitja-lu.*
angry-erg=they follow-p.pf spear-p.pt put-pf.pur.ss.erg

'Angrily they followed (those two) so that they could spear them to death.'

(66) *Kutipitja-ngu=pula ngula=pula mungarrtji pitja-la tjiki-ra*
go-p.pf=they two later=they two afternoon come-p.pt drink-p.pt

tjuti-ra piti palunya-ngka makati-kitja.
pour-p.pt dish that-in take-pf.pur.ss+abs

'They two went intending to come back in the afternoon to drink and pour water and take it in that dish.'

The idea of the 'purpose ss' subordination is as much 'intent' as 'purpose'. It is also used for indirect speech as in (67).

(67) *Ka watja-rnu Sunday kutikati-kitja-lu.*
&.ds say-p.pf Sunday take-pf.pur.ss-erg

'He said he would take (us) on Sunday.'

When the 'purpose ss' occurs before the matrix clause it often expresses the idea of 'about to' or 'ready' as in (68).

(68) *Pirni=latju kutipitja-kitja ngara-lanytja.*
many=we go-pf.pur.ss+abs stand-p.ipf

'Lots of us were standing there ready to go.'

In some cases a frustrated intention may be expressed in this way.

(69) *Pulakarra paa-lkitja-lu piwarraa-rnu paa-rnu Don-nga-lu.*
flour+abs cook-pf.pur.ss-erg blunder-p.pf cook-p.pf Don-abs-3ps.ob

'Intending to cook the flour, he blundered and burnt Don.'/'When

he was about to cook the flour....'

4.4.4.2 'PURPOSE DS'

(70) *Yapu mantji-ralpi mawarni-ngu papa-lu nya-kutjaku.*
stone+abs get-p.pt throw away-p.pf dog-erg see-pf.pur.ds

'Having picked up the stone he threw it away so that the dog would see it.'

(71) *Ka wati-lu witu-rnu kutipitja-la waru yurraltjaku.*
&.ds man-erg send-p.pf go-p.pt firewood+abs gather-pf.pur.ds

'And the man sent (the child) to go and gather firewood.'

The 'purpose ds' subordination is also used for indirect speech.

(72) *Mr. Kininmonth-tju watja-rnu Thomas-nga=pulanya Paul-nga*
Mr. Kininmonth-erg say-p.pf Thomas-abs=them two Paul abs

Wingkilina-ku kutitja-tjaku.
Wingkilina-to go-pf.pur.ds

'Mr. Kinninmonth said that Thomas and Paul were to go to Wingkilina.'

The 'purpose ds' subordination never occurs before the matrix clause.

4.4.5 AVERSIVE

The aversive subordination is marked by the verbal suffix *-ltjakurtarra* or by a relator-axis construction marked by *-kurtarra* as in (1). In multi-verb clauses same-subject coordination occurs as in (74). Notice that future perfectives occur there. There is also different-subject coordination as in (76) and subordinate linking of the consecutive type as in (75).

(74) *Tjarungara waarrpu-wa makati-ku=latju kumpinyu walatju-nku*
descend+md.pf hurry-md.pf take-f.pf=we alone set down-f.pf

wanti-tjakurtarra.
leave-pf.avers

'Get down quickly lest we take you and put you down by yourself (in the bush) and leave you.'

(75) *Ngurlu-lu tili-ranytja wiilyka-lu katurri-ngkula*
fearful-erg light-p.ipf cat-erg get up-p.pt

patja-ltjakurtarra.
bite-pf.avers

'He was fearfully lighting a fire (in the hole) lest the cat get up and bite him.'

(76) *Tjiinya sister-lu=lanya watja-rnu wanti-ngu ngayulu=lankun*
you know sister-erg=us inc say-p.pf leave-p.pf I=pl.ref

yungarra-lu walykumunu-ra kanyi-ratjaku yarnangu
self-erg do well-pr.pt keep-ipf.avers body+abs

pirri-lku-pirri-lku nyangka pikarri-ngkula
scratch-f.pf-scratch-f.pf &.ds become sore-p.pt

purlkarri-ngkula ngara-latjakurtarra.
become big-p.pt stand-ipf.avers

'You know sister has definitely told us to look after our own bodies well, otherwise we will scratch and scratch and it will become very sore.'

4.4.6 DEPRIVATIVE

The deprivative subordination is marked by the verbal suffix *-ltjirratja* (perfective). It has the meaning of 'on account of something one is deprived of'. The relator-axis construction does not occur. Although the deprivative occurs very commonly with NP constructions, it is much rarer with subordinate clauses. For this reason I have only one example with a multi-verb clause (78). Here the verbs are joined by subordinate linking of the consecutive type.

(77) *Mirrparnarri-ngu tirtu mani mantji-ltjirratja*.
become angry-p.pf still money+abs get-depriv

'(They) became angry because they wouldn't be able to continue getting the money.'

(78) *Ngaparrtjika pitja-la yinka-tjirratja-lu wanti-ngu*.
in turn come-p.pt sing-depriv-erg leave-p.pf

'He left it (and didn't go there) because they didn't come in turn and sing (here).'

4.4.7 'PURPOSE' AND 'NEGATIVE' EMBEDDED IN 'CIRCUMSTANCE DS'

The nominal 'circumstance' suffix *-ngka* may be added to what is normally the 'purpose ss' and also to the independent negative. The suffix *-ngka* obligatorily indicates switch-reference.

In these cases the 'purpose' marker *-lkitja* indicates 'about to', and 'circumstance' has a 'time' reading.

(79) *Tjulya-rnu=latju kumpinyu tjirntu tjarrpa-kitja-ngka.*
catch-p.pf=we one+abs sun+abs enter-imm-circ.ds

'We caught one when the sun was about to set.'

(80) *...puru patja-lkitja-ngka Harley-lu nya-ngu watja-rnu*
again bite-imm-circ.ds Harley-erg see-p.pt say-p.pt

katurri-ngkulalpi, "Mamu."
get up-p.pt devil

'...and when (the cat) was about to bite (the bird), Harley saw it and having got up said, "Devil."'

The independent negative *-munu* can also be suffixed by *-ngka*. When this occurs 'circumstance' has a cause reading.

(81) *Palyamunurri-ngu kapi tjuti-ntjamunu-ngka.*
become bad-p.pf water+abs pour-pf.neg-circ.ds

'(The engine) became bad because (they) didn't pour water in.'

4.5 COMPARISON OF VERBAL AND NOMINAL SUFFIXES

A comparison of verbal and nominal suffixes is shown in Table 4.3. It can be seen that all the subordinate verbal suffixes, with the exception of 'circumstance ss', have a counterpart which is added to the NP to make an adverbial form.

I would like to suggest that the simple adverb is equivalent to the 'circumstance ss' subordinate clausal construction.

These simple adverbs in Ngaanyatjarra are a special semantic class of adjectives (in particular those denoting human propensity) which describe the state of the subject at the time of the action of the verb. These adjectives are not included in the subject NP, but are a separate element receiving its own case-marking, i.e. showing ergative concord.

(82) *Papa-lu-rni mirrparn-tu patja-rnu.*
dog-erg-me angry-erg bite-p.pf

'The dog bit me angrily.'/'The dog, being angry, bit me.'

(83) *Ka-ya ngurlu-lu warni-ngu warntu.*
&.ds-they fearful-erg throw-p.pf blanket+abs

'And they, being afraid, threw down the blankets.'

TABLE 4.3

COMPARISON OF VERBAL AND NOMINAL SUFFIXES

	Verbal Suffix	with R.A.	NP Suffix
'Circumstance ss'	*-ntjalu*[+]	*? -lu*	----------
'Causal Circumstance ss'	*-n(tja)tjanu(lu)*[++]	*-tjanu(lu)*	*-tjanu(lu)*
'Circumstance ds'	*-nnyangka*	*-ngka*	*-ngka*
Negative	*-ntjamaal(pa/tu)*[+++]	----------	*-maal(pa/tu)*
'Mistaken-thought'	*-ntjakukantja(lu)*	*-kukantja(lu)*	*-kukantja(lu)*
'Purpose ss'	*-lkitja(lu)*	----------	*-kitja*
'Purpose ds'	*-ltjaku*	----------	*-ku*
Aversive	*-ltjakurtarra*	*-kurtarra*	*-ngkartarra*
Deprivative	*-ltjirratja(lu)*	----------	*-tjirratja(lu)*

† The verbal suffixes shown are for the "I" conjugation.

†† Forms marked *(lu)* have -lu with a transitive matrix verb and zero with an intransitive matrix verb. This is the same as Vfinal NP case-marking.

††† Forms marked *(pa/tu)* have -tu with a transitive matrix verb and -pa with an intransitive matrix verb. This is the same as Cfinal NP case-marking.

Compare (82) with (84) where the adjective 'black' is part of the NP and the case-marking occurs only on the final word.

(84) *Papa maru-lu-rni patja-rnu.*
dog black-erg-me bite-p.pf
'The black dog bit me.'

I have regarded the clausal structures as embedded within constituents of the simple clause. Ken Hansen (p.c.) has suggested one could regard the NP+suffix forms as being the minimal forms of the clauses.

5. NON-INDICATIVE SENTENCES

In Ngaanyatjarra there are nine sentence types which I have for convenience labelled non-indicative. Apart from the imperative they mainly fall into the area that would be covered by the subjunctive in English. They deal with wishes, hopes, prohibitions and various 'not-happening-at-present' situations.

Seven of these sentence types are characterized by the occurrence of verbs in the irrealis modal tense/mood while the other two are characterized by verbs in the irrealis general tense/mood (see Table 1.1). Except for the imperative each of these sentence types has a special marker which may be either a free form, usually occurring sentence-initial, or an enclitic attached to the first syntactic unit in the sentence.[22]

The seven sentence types which occur with verbs in irrealis modal are: imperative, optative *(=yi)*, contrafactual *(=palka)*, frustrated potential *(tjinguru)*, expectation *(yaalampa/=yaalampa)*, illustrative *(=kurlu)*, and counter-assumptive *(pumpapalka)*. The two sentence types which occur with verbs in the irrealis general are the counter-hypothetical *(kamu)* and the prohibitive *(=kurlu)*.[23]

In all these sentences a number of verbs and clauses may be joined together in the ways described in sections two and three. Table 5.1 shows the co-occurrence of the juncture strategies and the various sentence types. (I expect that in the spaces marked with a cross there is a definite co-occurrence restriction, whereas those that are blank are possibly due to gaps in the data.) However in this section I do not want to focus on the interaction of the strategies with the types. Rather, I want to describe something of the meaning and usage of the various types.

There is very little one-for-one correspondence between the usage of these Ngaanyatjarra sentences and similar expressions in English. It

TABLE 5.1

CO-OCCURRENCE OF SENTENCE TYPES & JUNCTURE STRATEGIES

	Coord ss	Coord ds	Participial Linking	
			consec	simul
Imperative	✓	✓	✓	✓
Optative =*yi* standing alone	✓	✓		
with conjunction	✓	×		✓
by juxtaposition	✓	×	✓	
polar interrogative	✓	×		
Contrafactual =*palka* 1. wish	✓	✓		✓
2. condition	✓			
3. refutation	✓			
Frustrated Potential *tjinguru* 1. 'would'	×	✓	✓	
2. 'should'	×		✓	
Expectation *yaalampa* 1. non-desired	✓	✓	✓	
2. unfulfilled	✓		✓	✓
Illustrative =*kurlu*	✓	✓	✓	
Counter-assumptive *pumpapalka*	✓		✓	
Counter-hypothetical *kamu*	✓			
Prohibitive =*kurlu*	✓			

has not been easy to discover the defining characteristics of the usage of these sentences and the sometimes subtle differences between them.[24] I am very grateful to Dr. Anna Wierzbicka who introduced me to her scheme of using natural language to explain meaning and helped me to apply it to the non-indicative sentences. This has indeed helped me to clarify the usage and the differences between the various types.[25] In this section I will not set out any semantic explications, but describe the non-indicative sentences as I have come to understand them by the use of semantic explications. For the sake of those who may be interested, I will include semantic explications of at least two examples of each type in an appendix.

5.1 IMPERATIVE

The simple (single-verb, single-clause) imperative has been described in section 1, and longer versions in sections 2 and 3. However for the purposes of comparison, I will briefly recapitulate here.

The imperative does not have any special marker. The verbs are in the irrealis modal and may be perfective or imperfective.

(1) *Kuka=ya nga-la.*
meat+abs=you eat-md.pf

'Eat meat all of you.'

(2) *Nya-wa=rna*
see-md.pf=I

'Let me see.'

Verbs in imperative sentences may be joined by same-subject coordination as in (3), participial linking (consecutive) as in (4) and (5) or participial linking (simultaneous) as in (6).

(3) *Kapi-ku kutipitja tjuti-la kati-ma.*
water-for go+md.pf pour-md.pf bring-md.reg

'Go for water pour it and bring it back.'

(4) *Mapitja=ya kuka karnpi purlka-nya pu-ngkula kati.*
go+md.pf=you meat fat bit-abs hit-p.pt bring+md.pf

'Go and having killed a fat animal bring it.'

(5) *Pitja=li ngamuntirri-rralpi nya-wa.*
come+md.pf=we two inc draw near-p.pt see-md.pf

'Let's come and having drawn near have a look.'

(6) *Nyina-rra miranykanyi-nma nyuntuku marlany-pa.*
sit-pr.pt look after-md.ipf your younger sibling-abs

'Stay and look after your younger brother.'

Clauses in imperative sentences may be linked by different-subject coordination as in (7), (8) and (9).

(7) *Tjarrpatju-rra ka walypala-lu pu-wa.*
put in -md.pf &.ds whiteman-erg hit-md.pf

'Put (the dog) in and let the whiteman kill it.'

(8) *Nyina-ma=la ka nyinnga wiyarri.*
sit-md.ipf=we inc &.ds winter+abs become finished+md.pf

'Let's stay here until winter is over.'

(9) *Wirrtja-la nyangka=li kutipitja warta-ku pu-wa*
come quickly-md.pf &.ds=we two inc go+md.pf wood-for hit-md.pf
kati walypala-ku ninti-la.
bring+md.pf whiteman-to give-md.pf

'Come and let us two go for wood, make (artefacts), bring them and give them to the whiteman.'

5.2 OPTATIVE

The characteristic marker of the optative is =*yi*. There are four subtypes determined by context:

1. Standing alone.
2. Linked to an imperative clause by a conjunction.
3. Linked to an imperative clause by juxtaposition.
4. As a polar interrogative.

Subtypes 2 and 3 are unusual in that the imperative clause is an integral part of the construction. Thus two clauses of different types are linked in one sentence.

The first three subtypes have first or third person subjects and although they vary in usage there are two strands of meaning common to them. They express something somebody wants to happen or thinks would be good to happen. It is also something that the speaker expects to happen before long or upon fulfilment of certain conditions.

The fourth subtype, which I have termed the polar interrogative opt-

ative, is a request for confirmation of something which the speaker believes to be so.

The unifying feature of all the optative sentences is the speaker's expectation that the event described is likely to happen (as in 1,2 and 3) or that the situation described did happen or is so (as in 4).

5.2.1 THE OPTATIVE SENTENCE STANDING ALONE

The optative sentence standing alone has two semantic subtypes. The first of these describes something the speaker expects to happen soon, and desires to happen to relieve him of the obligation of doing something he doesn't want to do.

(10) *Pitja=yi watja-la ninti-lu.*
come+md.pf=opt say-md.pf knowledgeable-erg

'(Wait), let her come and tell it since she knows.'

(11) *Wala=yi katurri-wa.*
quickly=opt get up-md.pf

'(Wait), let him get up quickly.'

(12) *Ngunytju-lu=ra=yi pitja kanyi-la.*
mother-erg=his=opt come+md.pf keep-md.pf

'(Wait), let his mother come and look after him.'

(13) *Kapi-ngka=rna=yi mularrnya-wa.*
water-at=I=opt see for sure-md.pf

'(Wait), let me see for sure at the water.'

The second type of optative standing alone, although structurally independent, can only be fully understood in terms of the preceding conversational context.

(14) *Tjurtu-lu=yi nya-wa pukurlarri.*
sister-erg=opt see-md.pf rejoice+md.pf

'(I will write on the letter.) Then sister will see it and rejoice.'

(15) *(Tinatju-rra papa-ngkartarra.) Waru-ku=nyka=yi ngurlurri-wa.*
lean-md.pf dog-avers fire-for=emph=opt become afraid-md.pf

'(Lean it there for fear of the dogs.) Then (it will be safe because they) will be afraid of the fire.'

(16) *Tjirntu-kutu=rna=yi nyina-ma ka=rni kampa-ma.*
sun-towards =I=opt sit-md.ipf &.ds=me burn-md.ipf

'(Put the tray there). Then I can sit towards the sunshine and it will burn (warm) me.'

5.2.2 OPTATIVE SENTENCE LINKED TO AN IMPERATIVE CLAUSE BY A CONJUNCTION

An optative sentence may be linked to a preceding imperative clause by a switch-reference conjunction. In this environment the optative sentence describes something the speaker wants to happen which he thinks will be facilitated by the events in the imperative clause.

(17) *Walatju-rra nyangka=yi paltju-ra yakuntju-nama.*
set down-md.pf &.ds=opt tread-pr.pt try-md.ipf

'Put (the baby) down and let him keep practising walking.'

(18) *Tjarrpatju-rra ka=yi purtu pitja ngatji-nma.*
put in-md.pf &.ds=opt in vain come+md.pf beg-md.ipf

'Put (the money) in (the house) and he will come and beg (from me) in vain.'

(19) *Kuwarripa=li nyina-rra tjawa-nma ka=yi tjarungara.*
while=we two.inc sit-pr.pt dig-md.ipf &.ds=opt descend+md.pf

'Let's keep sitting and digging for a while and (the goanna) will come down (out of the tree of its own accord.)'

5.2.3 OPTATIVE SENTENCE LINKED TO AN IMPERATIVE CLAUSE BY JUXTAPOSITION

Optative sentences also occur linked to a preceding imperative clause by juxtaposition.

It should be noted that the subject of the preceding imperative clause is different from that of the optative sentence, and this is not indicated by a switch-reference conjunction. Rather the occurrence of *=yi* in this close-knit construction indicates a switch of subject.

This construction is very similar to that described above. The only semantic difference seems to be that when the optative is linked to the imperative by a conjunction, the speaker wants the events expressed by the optative to happen; whereas, when the optative is linked to the imperative by juxtaposition, it may be someone other than the speaker who wants the events expressed by the optative to

happen.

When the verb in the imperative clause is *watjala* 'say', 'tell', the construction has the meaning 'tell someone to do something'. When other verbs occur in the imperative clause the construction has the meaning 'do something so that something else can happen'.

(20) *Watja-la nyina-ma=yi.*
tell-md.pf sit-md.ipf=opt

'Tell her to stay.'

(21) *Watja-la wirrtja-la=yi nya-wa.*
tell-md.pf come quickly-md.pf=opt see-md.pf

'Tell him to come quickly and look (at the toys).'

(22) *Yurri mawatja-la pitja-yi.*
move+md.pf tell out-md.pf come+md.pf=opt

'Make signs to him to come.'

(23) *Ninti-la parrapitja-ma=yi tjarrpatju-ra.*
give-md.pf go around-md.ipf=opt put on-p.pt

'Give (me the clothes) so that having put them on he can go around.'

(24) *Wirrtja-la nya-wa=nta=yi.*
come quickly-md.pf see-md.pf=you.ob=opt

'Come quickly so that (the whitewoman) can see you.'

Where the verb in the imperative clause is *nyawa* 'see', 'look', the construction may have the meaning of 'look out for something to happen'.

(25) *Nya-ngama watiwirrtja-la=yi pala-wana.*
see-md.ipf go across quickly-md.pf=opt that (near you)-way

'Keep looking out for (the men) to go across by way of your (house).'

5.2.4 THE POLAR INTERROGATIVE OPTATIVE

The polar interrogative optative is a request for confirmation of something which the speaker expects to be so. It may be distinguished from the optative standing alone by the polar interrogative intonation pattern.

If the imperfective aspect occurs it is a query about the present. If the perfective occurs it is a query about the past.

(26) *Waarrku=ya=yi ngara-ma?*
same=they=opt stand-md.ipf

'Are there any the same?' (I expect that there are.)

(27) *Docker River-la=yi=n nya-wa?*
Docker River-at=opt=you see-md.pf

'Did you see (those plants) at Docker River?' (I expect that you would have.)

(28) *Lois-nga watitja ngara-ma=yi?*
Lois-abs go across+md.pf stand-md.ipf=opt

'Did Lois go across and is she standing there?' (I think she must be.)

(29) *Tju-rra=yi=n kurntili wanti?*
put-md.pf=opt=you auntie leave+md.pf

'Auntie, have you put it aside?' (You promised you would, so I expect you have.)

The polar interrogative optative may also be part of a quotation where the optative follows the verb *watjala* 'say' or *nyawa* 'look'.

(30) *Watja-la, "Pitja=ya=yi?"*
say-md.pf come+md.pf=they=opt

'Ask, "Have they come?"'

(31) *Mapitja tjurtu nya-wa, "Ngara-ma=yi?"*
go+md.pf sister see-md.pf stand-md.ipf=opt

'Sister, go and see, "Is she there?"'

(32) *Watja-la, "Palya=yi ngara-ma walykumunu?"*
say-md.pf all right=opt stand-md.ipf good

'Read it, "Is it all right?"'

It is only through context and intonation that we know these are different from those in examples (20) - (25).

5.3 CONTRAFACTUAL

The characteristic marker of the contrafactual sentence is the en-

clitic =*palka* which occurs attached to the first syntactic unit in the sentence.

There are three semantic subtypes of the contrafactual. They all indicate that the event described did not happen or is not happening despite, in some cases, the desire of the speaker that it should happen. The three subtypes are: 1) the wish, 2) the contrafactual condition and 3) the refutation.

Formally the only difference between the subtypes is that type 2 contains two propositions. For this reason, contrafactual 1 and 3 are indistinguishable out of context.

5.3.1 THE WISH

The contrafactual 1 indicates the speaker's wish that something should take place, and also his acknowledgement that he cannot do anything to make it happen.

(33) *Yiwarra=palka tiwa watingarri-ma*
road=cf far lie across-md.ipf

'I wish the road were a long way away (because it's noisy).'

(34) *Mungarri=palka waarrpu-wa tjirnturri.*
become night+md.pf=cf hurry-md.pf become day+md.pf

'I wish tomorrow would come quickly.'

(35) *Wati nyarra-lu=palka waru ngaatja kati warni.*
man that-erg=cf firewood+abs here bring+md.pf throw+md.pf

'I wish that man would bring firewood here.'

Because this type of sentence implies the speaker's inability to do anything about the situation, it is regarded as a polite way of making a suggestion or expressing a command.

(36) *Papa=palka pu-wa nyangka kutipitja.*
dog=cf hit-md.pf &.ds go+md.pf

'I wish someone would hit the dog so it would go away.'

(37) *Kapi=palka=n kutipitja marnma-la.*
water=cf=you go+md.pf draw-md.pf

'I wish you would go and get some water (for me).'

(38) *Kapi=palka ngurrpa-lu=latju kutipitja nya-wa.*
water=cf ignorant-erg=we go+md.pf see-md.pf

'I wish we could go and see the sea, seeing we've never seen it.'

5.3.2 THE CONTRAFACTUAL CONDITION

The contrafactual condition is used to explain why a certain situation did not happen and possibly will not happen. This contrafactual condition is often expressed by a subordinate clause or by a single noun or adjective.

The contrafactual 2 does not specify time. In English different forms of the verb are used to distinguish contrafact conditions that are potentially realizable, as in 'If you gave me some money I would bring you firewood', from those no longer realizable, as in 'If you had given me some money I would have brought you firewood'. However, in Ngaanyatjarra both ideas are conveyed by the one form, except where the lexical combination only allows one reading. This is the case with example (43) where the only possible reading is 'If I had seen him before, I would have given it to him.', and also with example (41) where the only possible reading is 'If I knew how to spin hair I would spin it.'

(39) *Nyuntulu=palka=rni=n mani ninti-nnyangka=rna=nku*
you+nom=cf=me=you money+abs give-pf.circ.ds=I=for you

waru warni.
firewood+abs throw+md.pf

'If you gave me some money I would throw down some firewood for you.'

(40) *Wiya mani=palka=rna kanyi-ranytja-lu ninti-la.*
no money+abs=cf=I keep-ipf.circ.ss-erg give-md.pf

'Why if I had some money I would give it (to you).'

(41) *Mangka=palka=rna ninti-lu rulyupu-ngama.*
hair=cf=I knowledgeable-erg spin-md.pf

'If I knew how to spin hair I would spin it.'

(42) *Minyma-lu=palka kati-ma.*
woman-erg=cf bring-md.ipf

'A woman would bring her little ones (But she is a dog and has hidden her puppies).'

(43) *Nya-wa=palka=rnatju wanti-tja-lu ninti-la.*
see-md.pf=cf=1.emph leave-circ.ss-erg give-md.pf

'If I had seen him before I would have given it to him.'

5.3.3 THE REFUTATION

The third type of contrafactual is commonly used as a 'put down'. The implication seems to be 'From what you said or did it looks like you think this is so. But you know that it is not so. Therefore I say that was a foolish thing to do or say.'

(44) *Tirtu=palka=n pala-ngka nyina pamparri-wa.*
continually=cf=you there-at sit+md.pf become old woman-md.pf

'It's not as if you'll stay there until you're an old woman.'

(45) *Ngayulu=palka=rna yirna mapitja ngarlpurri-wa.*
1=cf=1 old man+abs go+md.pf play-md.pf

'It's not as if an old man like me would go and play (football).'

(46) *Kapi tjiki-ranyangka watja-lku, "Wanti.*
water+abs drink-ipf.circ.ds say-f.pf leave+md.pf

Nyuntulu=palka=rni=n kapi kati ninti-la."
you+nom=cf=me=you water+abs bring+md.pf give-md.pf

'When someone is drinking water someone else will say, "Leave it. It's not as if you bring water for me."'

The refutation is less commonly used to refute something which someone could think but which both speaker and addressee know to be contrary to fact.

(47) *Yungarra=rna punka-rnu. Nyuntulu=palka=pula=rni=n yuntu-la.*
self=1 fall-p.pf you+nom=cf=you two=me=you push-md.pf

'I fell over myself. It's not as if you two pushed me.'

(48) *Kuurti=palka=rni mirrirnta-rra.*
spirit=cf=me kill-md.pf

'It's not as if my spirit can be killed.'

5.4 FRUSTRATED POTENTIAL

The characteristic marker of the frustrated potential is the word *tjinguru*, which usually occurs sentence initial as a free form.

Occasionally *tjinguru* occurs as an enclitic attached to the first syntactic unit of the sentence. (In other contexts *tjinguru* means 'perhaps'.)

The frustrated potential differs from the other non-indicative sentence types in that only the imperfective form of the irrealis modal verb suffixes occurs. The imperfective-perfective distinction is neutralized here and the meaning may be either perfective or imperfective.

The frustrated potential sentence remarks on what did not happen but would have or should have happened. It is usually quite short as it does not state the conditions under which the event would have or should have happened. In conversation everyone knows what did happen, while in narrative what did happen has usually been described in detail.

5.4.1 'WOULD HAVE'

Where the frustrated potential sentence describes what would have happened, the implication is that the event in question could have happened and indeed would have happened if something else had not happened.

(49) *Tjinguru tili-nma green-truck-nya.*
fp light-md.ipf green truck-def.abs
'He would have set fire to the green truck.'

(50) *Tjinguru=lan ya-nkula nya-ngama.*
fp=we.inc go-p.pt see-md.ipf
'We all would have gone and seen it.'

(51) *Tjinguru=rna ngurrpa-tjaru-lu warni-ma=nyka.*
fp =I ignorant-because-erg throw-md.ipf=emph
'I would have thrown it away in ignorance.'

(52) *Kartirri-lu=tjinguru=rni watja-nma.*
Kartirri-erg=fp=me tell-md.ipf
'Kartirri would have told me.'

5.4.2 'SHOULD HAVE'

Where the frustrated potential sentence describes what should have happened, the implication is that it would have been good if that

thing had happened and that someone is to blame for not causing it to happen.

(53) *Tjinguru=n marla ngara-la tjiki-nma.*
fp=you after stand-p.pt drink-md.ipf

'You should have waited and drunk after.'

(54) *Tjinguru=n kunmarnu kutikati-ma ngurra-ngka tju-nkula*
fp=you knife+abs take-md.ipf camp-in put-p.pt

wanti-nytjamaral-tu.
leave-pf.neg-erg

'You should have taken the knife and not left it in camp.'

(55) *Yuwa tjinguru=rna kutikati-ma.*
yes fp=I take-md.ipf

'Yes I should have taken it.'

(56) *Palunya-nya=tjinguru palya-nma.*
that-abs=fp do-md.ipf

'You should have done that.'

5.4.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN CONTRAFACTUAL 2 AND FRUSTRATED POTENTIAL 1

On the surface the contrafactual 2 and the frustrated potential 1 may appear very similar, and one may wonder how to know when to use one rather than the other. Both could certainly be used to remark on the same situations. But which one is used will depend on what the speaker wants to say about the situation. So far I have been able to discern three differences:

1. The frustrated potential 1 is used only to comment on a past situation, whereas most examples of the contrafactual 2 have the potential to be realized if the condition is fulfilled.

2. The frustrated potential 1 is used where the speaker wants to draw the addressee's attention to the fact that a certain event did not happen, although it could have. The contrafactual 2 is used where the speaker wants to say why a certain situation did not happen and possibly will not happen.

3. In the frustrated potential 1 the polarity between the reason (usually not stated) and the basic proposition is usually different, whereas in the contrafactual 2 the polarity of the condition and the consequence is usually the same.

Thus example (49) is a typical frustrated potential 1 and can be spelled out as:

He didn't set fire to the green truck (because I spoke to him.)
Here the main situation is negative while the reason in positive.

Example (40) is a typical contrafactual 2 and can be spelled out as:

I didn't have money and I didn't give it.
Both the condition and the consequence are negative.

There are, however, occasional examples that do not agree with these generalizations, for instance (57).

(57) *Tjina=palka=rna pika-maal-pa kutipitja tirnka-ku.*
foot=cf=1 sore-not-abs go+md.pf goanna-for

'If I didn't have this sore foot, I'd go out for goanna.'

This can be spelled out as:

I have a sore foot and I am not going our for goanna. Here the condition or reason is positive and the consequence is negative.

Example (52) is a frustrated potential 1 where the polarity is the same. It can be spelled out as:

Kartirri didn't tell me (because she didn't die).

5.5 EXPECTATION

The characteristic marker of the expectation sentence is the word *yaalampa* which usually occurs sentence-initial as a free form, although it may occur as an enclitic attached to the first syntactic unit of the sentence. There are two semantic subtypes which I have called the non-desired expectation and the unfulfilled expectation. The non-desired expectation looks forward to what might happen while the unfulfilled expectation looks back to what was expected to happen but didn't.

5.5.1 THE NON-DESIRED EXPECTATION

The non-desired expectation describes a situation the speaker expects to happen, but doesn't want to happen. He uses this type of sentence to explain why he will avoid taking an action which would cause the non-desired situation to come about. The causative situation is sometimes expressed within the non-desired expectation sentence, as

in (58) and (60), and sometimes only retrievable from the context as in (59).

(58) *Yaalampa=rna waru tili-la nyangka winyin-pa wiltja-ngka*
exp=I fire+abs light-md.pf &.ds smoke-abs shelter-in

tjarrpa-ma.
enter-md.ipf

'If I light a fire the smoke will only go into the shelter.'/'I don't want to light a fire and have the smoke go into the shelter.'

(59) *("Mapitja warta kartarnta-rra kati.")*
go+md.pf wood+abs break-md.pf bring+md.pf

"Wiwa, yaalampa=rni tjina tjilka-lu kultu-la."
no exp=me foot+abs thorn-erg spear-md.pf

'("Go and break wood and bring it.") "No I don't want the thorns to prick my feet."'

(60) *Yaalampa ngurra ngaa-nya wanti-nyangka=ya tjarrpa-rra*
exp place this=abs leave-pf.circ.ds=they enter-pr.pt

parnti-nma.
smell-md.ipf

'(We don't want them to come into this place and sniff (petrol) if we leave it.'

5.5.2 THE UNFULFILLED EXPECTATION

The unfulfilled expectation describes a situation that has not happened. By using this form the speaker indicates that he has expected it would happen. The sentences tend to be shorter than the non-desired expectation.

(61) *Kurri=yaalampa kati-ma. Kurri tjinguru mirri.*
spouse+abs=exp bring-md.ipf spouse+abs perhaps dead

'He would have brought his wife, (if he had one). Perhaps his wife is dead.'

(62) *Tjilku=yaalampa pitja tjirntu-ngka-lpi. Ngaanya*
child+abs=exp come+md.pf day-in-when this

mungarri-ngu.
become night-p.pf

'The child should have come when it was daylight. But now it's dark.'

(63) *Ayi ngaa-nya-lpinyanyu ngurra=kutju ngara-la.* *Yaalampa* *tjilku*
hey this-abs-? camp=only stand-pr exp child

palunya-nya yurri-rra nyina-ma wiltja-ngka.
that-abs move-pr.pt sit-md.ipf shelter-in

'Hey here's the camp and no one around. The child should be moving around in the shelter.'

5.5.3 EXPECTATION SENTENCE WITH -*TJAKU*

Some speakers (mainly northerners whose speech has similarities to Rawlinson Ngaatjatjarra) use the verbal suffix -*tjaku* rather than the irrealis modal forms.

(64) *Thomas-tju marrku-ranytja pika wanti-tjaku* *yaalampa*
Thomas-erg prevent-p.ipf fight leave-pf.pur.ds exp

tjutupu-ngkutjaku.
shoot-pf.?

'Thomas was stopping him from fighting because he didn't want him to shoot (Harry).'

(65) *Yaalampa palunyaku mama ngunytju pitja-tjaku.*
exp his father mother+abs come-pf.?

'His father and mother should have come.'

In Ngaanyatjarra the suffix -*tjaku* indicates 'purpose different-subject' and is also a shortened form of the aversive suffix -*tjakurtarra*. There is an obvious link between the non-desired expectation in (64) and the aversive. However (65) is an unfulfilled expectation. At this point it seems better to me to regard -*tjaku* in examples (64) and (65) as a dialect variation of the modal.

5.6 ILLUSTRATIVE

The characteristic marker of the illustrative sentence is the enclitic =*kurlu*, which is attached to the first syntactic unit in the sentence. The verbs are in the irrealis modal tense/mood.

The illustrative sentence is used to draw the addressee's attention to some well-known activity, because the speaker feels that thinking about that activity will help the addressee understand something else. The topic is usually stated before the illustrative sentence, while the anaphoric demonstrative occurs after the illustrative sentence and refers back to that topic. The usual form of the anaphoric demonstrative is *palunya-pirinypa* 'like that'.

The particle *tjiinya*, or *tjii*, frequently occurs at the beginning of an illustrative sentence. The meaning and usage of this particle is very difficult to define. It occurs with great frequency in hortatory discourse, with moderate frequency in descriptive and very rarely in narrative or customary discourse. In hortatory discourse it is sprinkled about almost at randon, rather in the manner of colloquial English 'y'know'. It seems to be associated with an attempt by the speaker to convice the addressee, or to cause him to understand the point he is making. I have translated *tjiinya* as 'you know'.

(66) *Tjiinya-marntu mani purlka-tjarra-nya nyina-ku wiyarri-ngku.*
you know-because money big-with-def.abs sit-c.pf disappear-c.pf

Tjiinya=kurlu yalpurtarti ngara pikirri-wa.
you know=ill flower+abs stand+md.pf become dry-md.pf

Palunya-pirinypa.
that-like

'Because, you know, a person with a lot of money will live for a while and then disappear. You know, think of how a yalpurtarti flower is there and then dries up. Like that.'

(67) *Palunyalu yarrapulayin-pa palya-rnu pirriya-kutu paka-ratjaku*
&.ss aeroplane-abs make-p.pf air-to rise-ipf.pur.ds

warlawurru-piriny-pa yilkari-kutu. Warlawurru=kurlu
eagle-like-abs sky-to eagle=ill

katurri-ngkula kaninytjarra mapitja, palunyatjanu ngula katu
rise-p.pt underneath go+md.pf and then.ss later above

katurri-ngkula yilkari-kutu ya-rra. Palunya-piriny-pa
rise-p.pt sky-to go-md.pf that-like-abs

yarrapulayin-pa palya-rnu.
aeroplane-abs make-p.pf

'And then (they) made an aeroplane to rise to the sky like an eagle. You know, think of how an eagle having arisen goes along underneath and then later having arisen higher goes right to the sky. They made an aeroplane like that.'

(68) *Tjirntu-lu=kurlu kampa nyangka parrkilarri. Palunya-nya.*
sun-erg=ill burn+md.pf &.ds become limp+md.pf that-abs

'Think of how the sun burns (a leaf) and it becomes limp. That (is what *parrkilarrinytja* means).'

5.7 COUNTER-ASSUMPTIVE

The characteristic marker of the counter-assumptive sentence is the

word *pumpapalka* which usually occurs sentence-initial. The verbs are in the irrealis modal tense/mood.

The counter-assumptive is used to counter an assumption which the speaker feels the addressee holds. Counter-assumptive sentences fall into three categories.

Firstly, they deal with matters considered to be physically or legally impossible. The speaker assumes that, having been told, the addressee will therefore not attempt to do that thing.

(69) *Pumpapalka=n nga-la kuka.*
ca=you eat-md.pf meat+abs

'You can't eat meat.' (said to a small child)

(70) *Pumpapalka=yan medicine-ku papa-tjarra pitja.*
ca=you medicine-for dog-with come+md.pf

'You can't come with dogs for medicine.'

Secondly, the counter-assumptive deals with matters the speaker considers to be not a good thing. Assuming that somebody (not necessarily the addressee) may not realize that it would not be a good thing, the speaker points this out and assumes that therefore the addressee will not try to do it or cause anyone else to do it.

(71) *Pumpapalka=lan wanti Katungkatjaku tjukurr-pa*
ca=we.inc leave+md.pf God's story-abs

watja-ntjamaal-tu palunyalu mirrka ninti-nma.
tell-pf.neg-erg &.ss food+abs give-md.ipf

'We can't leave the preaching of God's story and give out food.'

(72) *Pumpapalka=lin nyina-rra-nyina-rra tinarri-ngama.*
ca= we two.inc sit-p.pt-sit-p.pt become midday-md.ipf

'We can't sit here until dinner-time.'

(73) *Pumpapalka=rna pamparr-pamparr-tu mantji-la palunyalu kata*
ca=I hastily-erg get-md.pf &.ss head+abs

pampu-la.
touch-md.pf

'One[26] can't hastily get someone and lay hands on him (for ordination).'

Thirdly, the counter-assumptive deals with matters the speaker considers improbable. The speaker wishes to change the addressee's

thinking about the matter because this will affect the addressee's actions on another related matter.

(74) *Pumpapalka yangupala-lu marlu yatu-la ninti-la.*
ca young man-erg kangaroo+abs shoot-md.pf give-md.pf
'Young men won't kill kangaroos and give them to you.'

(75) *Pumpapalka=lanya paluru kanyi-nma.*
ca=us all inc nothing keep-md.ipf
'She wouldn't teach us for nothing.'

(76) *Papa ngaa-lu pumpapalka nga-la kuka wiya-la.*
dog this-erg ca eat-md.pf meat+abs finish-md.pf
'This dog couldn't have eaten all the meat.'

5.8 COUNTER-HYPOTHETICAL

In this section I will firstly describe the counter-hypothetical, and then compare it with the contrafactual 3 (refutation) and the counter-assumptive.

5.8.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTER-HYPOTHETICAL

The characteristic marker of the counter-hypothetical is the word *kamu* which occurs either sentence-initial or immediately prior to the verb or verbs. Unlike the seven non-indicative sentences already described, the verbs are in the irrealis general tense/mood which is elsewhere used for future or customary situations. Only the perfective aspect occurs with the counter-hypothetical.

The counter-hypothetical is a statement made to counter something that someone could think. It states that regardless of what one could think, a certain situation would not happen. The reasons why it would not happen are quite varied, which sometimes makes it difficult to see what sentences of this type have in common.

Single-verb sentences are much more common for the counter-hypothetical than for most other non-indicative sentences.

77. *Kamu nganyirrirri-ku palunya.*
ch become wild-ig.pf that
'He wouldn't get angry.'

(78) *Yarnangu tjinguru kamu pu-ngku.*
person+abs perhaps ch hit-ig.pf

'(Hailstones) probably wouldn't hit people.'

(79) *Kunpu-kunpu kamu kutipitja-ku.*
for nothing ch go-ig.pf

'(They) wouldn't go for no reason (i.e. without being sent by God.)'

(80) *Kamu=rna ngurra-ku ya-nku.*
ch=I camp-to go-ig.pf

'I wouldn't get to camp. (Nobody would take me.)'

(81) *Kamu=rna nyina-ku families-tja tjakultju-nku.*
ch=I sit-ig.pf families-I.O. tell-ig.pf

'I wouldn't wait and tell others in the family.'

5.8.2 COMPARISON OF THE CONTRAFACTUAL 3, COUNTER-ASSUMPTIVE AND THE COUNTER-HYPOTHETICAL

The contrafactual 3 (refutation), counter-assumptive and counter-hypothetical are all spoken to counter something that someone could think.

Something that would not happen could be expressed by a refutation or the third type of counter-assumptive, but most frequently it is expressed by a counter-hypothetical. If it was being expressed by a refutation, the speaker would be assuming that the addressee also knew that it would not happen, as in (47). If it was being expressed by a counter-assumptive, as in (74) or (75), the speaker would be making the addressee aware of it in order to influence his behaviour on a related issue. Whereas if it was being expressed by a counter-hypothetical, the speaker would be making the addressee aware of it because it was relevant to the topic being discussed, but normally not in order to influence his behaviour in any way.

5.9 PROHIBITIVE

The characteristic marker of the prohibitive sentence is the enclitic *=kurlu*, which is attached to the first syntactic unit in the sentence. The verbs are in the irrealis general tense/mood.

The prohibitive sentence is a warning[27] to the addressee not to do something which the speaker considers he is likely to do in the near future.

(82) *Yuril-ta=kurlu=n ngara-ma.*
space-in=pro=you stand-ig.ipf

'Mind you don't keep standing outside.'

(83) *Tjulurraa-lku=kurlu=pulan.*
start-ig.pf=pro=you two

'Mind you two don't get a fright.'

(84) *Paka-ra pitja. Palunyalu=kurlu=n parralarri-ku*
get up-p.pt come+md.pf &.ss=pro=you turn around-ig.pf

nya-ku.
see-ig.pf

'Get up and come. And mind you don't turn around and look.'

(85) *Kuli-la. Kapi=kurlu=n tjiki-lku wiya-lku.*
listen-md.pf water+abs=pro=you drink-ig.pf finish-ig.pf

'Listen. Mind you don't drink all the water.'

APPENDIX

SEMANTIC EXPLICATIONS OF NON-INDICATIVE SENTENCES

1. IMPERATIVE

x is not the case,

I want X to be the case,

I assume you can cause X to be the case,

I say: I want you to cause it to be the case,

I assume that you will do it because I have told you.

a. *Kuka=ya nga-la.*
meat+abs=you eat-md.pf

'Eat meat all of you.'

=You are not eating meat,

I want you to eat meat

I assume you can eat meat,

I say: I want you to eat meat,

I assume that you will do it because I have told you.

b. *Nya-wa=rna*
see-md.pf=I

'Let me look at it.'

=I am not looking at it,

I want to look at it,

I assume you can cause me to look at it,

I say: I want you to cause me to look at it,

I assume that you will do it because I have told you.

2. OPTATIVE 1A

I think A wants me to do Y / everybody expects me to do Y,

I think X will happen before long,

I want X to happen,

because if X happens it will be better for me than if I do Y.

a. *Pitja=yi watja-la ninti-lu.*
come+md.pf=opt say-md.pf knowledgeable-erg

'(Wait), let her come and tell it since she knows.'

=I think you want me to tell you,

I think she will come and tell before long,

I want her to come and tell,

because if she comes and tells it since she knows it, it will be

better for me than if I tell you (since I don't know).

b. *Wala=yi katurri-wa.*
quickly=opt get up-md.pf

'(Wait), let him get up quickly.'

=Everybody expects me to hit my head for him if he's injured,

I think he will get up before long,

I want him to get up quickly,

because if he gets up quickly it will be better for me than if I hit my head for him and he's not really injured.

3. OPTATIVE 1B

I think X would be a good thing,

(when Y happens)

X can/will happen.

a. *Tjurtu-lu=yi nya-wa pukurlarri.*
sister-erg=opt see-md.pf rejoice+md.pf

'(I will write on the letter.) Then sister will see it and rejoice.'

=I think it would be good for sister to see (my writing on the letter) and rejoice,

(When I write on the letter), sister will see it and rejoice.

b. *Tjirntu-kutu=rna=yi nyina-ma ka=rni kampa-ma.*
sun-towards=I=opt sit-md.ipf &.ds=me burn-md.ipf

'(Put the tray there.) Then I can set towards the sunshine and it will burn (warm) me.'

=I think it would be a good thing for me to sit towards the sunshine and get warm,

(When you put the tray there), I can sit towards the sunshine and get warm.

4. OPTATIVE 2

I want X to happen,

I think it will happen if you do Y,

I say: I want you to do Y because of that,

I assume you will do Y because I have told you.

a. *Walatju-rra nyangka=yi paltju-ra yakuntju-nama.*
set down-md.pf &.ds=opt tread-pr.pt try-md.ipf

'Put (the baby) down and let him keep practising walking.'

=I want him to keep practising walking,

I think he will keep practising walking if you put him down,

I say: I want you to put him down because of that,

I assume that you will do it because I have told you.

b. *Tjarrpatju-rra ka=yi purtu pitja ngatji-nma.*
put in-md.pf &.ds=opt in vain come+md.pf beg-md.ipf

'Put (the money) in (the house) and he will come and beg (from me) in vain.'

=I want him to be unable to beg from me,

I think he will be unable to beg from me if you put the money in the house,

I say: I want you to put the money in the house because of that,

I assume that you will do it because I have told you.

5. OPTATIVE 3A

Somebody wants X to happen,

I think X can happen if Y happens,

I say: I want you to do Y because of that,

I think that you will do Y because I have told you.

a. *Watja-la wirrtja-la=yi nya-wa.*
tell-md.pf come quickly-md.pf=opt see-md.pf

'Tell him to come quickly and look (at the toys).'

=She wants him to come quickly and look at the toys,

I think he will come quickly and look at the toys if you tell him,

I say: I want you to tell him because of that,

I think that you will do it because I have told you.

b. *Wirrtja-la nya-wa=nta=yi.*
come quickly-md.pf see-md.pf=you=opt

'Come quickly so that (the whitewoman) can see you.'

=The whitewoman wants to see you,

I think she can see you if you come quickly,

I say: I want you to come quickly because of that,

I think that you will do it because I have told you.

6. OPTATIVE 3B

I think that X will be the case,

I think it would be good for you to see X,

I say: I want you to look,

I think that you will look because I have told you.

a. *Nya-ngama watiwirrtja-la=yi pala-wana.*
see-md.ipf go across quickly-md.pf=opt that (near you)-way

'Keep looking out for (the men) to go across by way of your (house).'

=I think the men will go across by way of your house,

I think it would be good for you to see the men going across by way of your house,

I say: I want you to look,

I think that you will look because I have told you.

7. POLAR INTERROGATIVE OPTATIVE

I want you to tell me if X is the case,

I think X is the case.

a. *Waarrku=ya=yi ngara-ma?*
same=they=opt stand-md.ipf

'Are there any the same?' (I expect that there are.)

=I want you to tell me if there are any the same,

I think there are some the same.

b. *Docker River-la=yi=n nya-wa?*
Docker River-at=opt=you see-md.pf

'Did you see (those plants) at Docker River?' (I expect that you would have.)

=I want you to tell me if you saw those plants at Docker River, I think you did see them.

8. CONTRAFACTUAL 1

X is not the case,

I would like X to be the case,

I know I can't cause X to be the case.

a. *Yiwarra=palka tiwa watingarri-ma.*
road=cf far lie across-md.ipf

'I wish the road were a long way away (because it's noisy).'

=The road is not a long way away,

I would like the road to be a long way away,

I know I can't cause the road to be a long way away.

b. *Kapi=palka=n kutipitja marnma-la.*
water=cf=you go+md.pf draw-md.pf

'I wish you would go and get some water (for me).'

=You have not gone and got water,

I would like you to go and get water,

I know I can't cause you to go and get water.

9. CONTRAFACTUAL 2

I want to tell you why X is not the case,

Y is not the case,

if Y had been the case, X would have been the case,

(If Y were the case, X would be the case.)

N.B. The final line applies to most but not all examples.

a. *Nyuntulu=palka=rni=n mani ninti-nnyangka=rna=nku*
you+nom=cf=me=you money+abs give-pf.circ.ds=1=for you

waru warni.
firewood=abs throw+md.pf

'If you gave me some money I would throw down some firewood for you.'

=I want to tell you why I have not thrown down firewood for you,

You have not given me money,

if you had given me money I would have brought you firewood,

if you gave me money I would bring you firewood.

b. *Nya-wa=palka=rnatju wanti-tja-lu ninti-la.*
see-md.pf=cf=1.emph leave-circ.ss-erg give-md.pf

'If I had seen him before I would have given it to him.'

=I want to tell you why I did not give it to him,

I have not seen him before,

if I had seen him before, I would have given it to him.

10. CONTRAFACTUAL 3A

From what you said/did it looks like you think X is the case,

you know X is not the case,

I say: that was a foolish thing to do/say.

a. *Tirtu=palka=n pala-ngka nyina pamparri-wa.*
continually=cf=you there-at sit=md.pf become old woman-md.pf

'It's not as if you'll stay there until you're an old woman.'

=From what you did it looks like you think you'll stay there until you're an old woman,

you know you won't stay there until you're an old woman,

I say: that was a foolish thing to do.

b. *Kapi tjiki-ranyangka watja-lku, "Wanti.*
water+abs drink-ipf.circ.ds say-f.pf leave+md.pf

Nyuntulu=palka=rni=n kapi kati ninti-la."
you+nom=cf=me=you water+abs bring+md.pf give-md.pf

'When someone is drinking water someone else will say, "Leave it.

It's not as if you bring water for me."'

=From what you are doing it looks like you think you get water

for me,

you know you don't get water for me.

I say: that was a foolish thing to do.

11. CONTRAFACTUAL 3B

Somebody could think that X is the case,

you know X is not the case.

a. *Yungarra=rna punka-rnu. Nyuntulu=palka=pula=rni=n yuntu-la.*
self=I fall-p.pf you+nom=cf=you two=me=you push-md.pf

'I fell over myself. It's not as if you two pushed me.'

=Somebody could think you pushed me,

you know you didn't push me.

b. *Kuurti=palka=rni mirrirnta-rra.*
spirit=cf=me kill-md.pf

'It's not as if my spirit can be killed.'

=Somebody could think my spirit can be killed,

you know my spirit can't be killed.

12. FRUSTRATED POTENTIAL 1

I want to declare that X did not happen,

X could have happened,

X would have happened (if Y didn't happen),

X didn't happen (because Y happened).

a. *Tjinguru tili-nma green-truck-nya.*
fp light-md.ipf green-truck-def.abs

'He would have set fire to the green truck.'

=I want to declare that he didn't set fire to the green truck,

he could have set fire to the green truck,

he would have set fire to the green truck (if I hadn't spoken

to him),

he didn't set fire to the green truck (because I spoke to him).

b. *Tjinguru=rna ngurrpa-tjaru-lu warni-ma=nyka.*
fp=I ignorant-because-erg throw-md.ipf=emph

'I would have thrown it away in ignorance.'

=I want to declare that I did not throw it away in ignorance,

I could have thrown it away in ignorance,

I would have thrown it away in ignorance (if she hadn't told me),

I didn't throw it away in ignorance (because she told me).

13. FRUSTRATED POTENTIAL 2

I want to declare that X did not happen,

it would have been good if X had happened,

I say: person A could have caused X to happen,

because of that I think person A did something bad.

a. *Tjinguru=n kunmarnu kutikati-ma ngurra-ngka tju-nkula*
fp=you knife+abs take-md.ipf camp-in put-p.pt

wanti-nytjamaral-tu.
leave-pf.neg-erg

'You should have taken the knife and not left it in camp.'

=I want to declare that you did not take your knife with you

but left it in camp,

it would have been good if you had taken your knife with you and

not left it in camp (because then I couldn't have cut your boat

loose with it),

I say: you could have taken your knife with you and not left it

in camp,

because of that I think you did something bad.

b. *Yuwa tjinguru=rna kutikati-ma.*
yes fp=I take-md.ipf

'Yes I should have taken it.'

=I want to declare that I did not take (the knife with me),

it would have been good if I had taken it,

I say: I could have taken it,

because of that I think I did something bad.

14. EXPECTATION 1 (NON-DESIRED)

I think X (something bad) will happen (if Y happens),

I don't want X to happen,

I say: I won't do Y because of that.

a. *Yaalampa=rna waru tili-la nyangka winyin-pa*
exp=I fire+abs light-md.pf &.ds smoke-abs

wiltja-ngka tjarrpa-ma.
shelter-in enter-md.ipf

'If I light a fire the smoke will only go into the shelter.'

=I think the smoke will go into the shelter if I light a fire,

I don't want the smoke to go into the shelter,

I say: I won't light a fire because of that.

b. *("Mapitja warta kartarnta-rra kati.") "Wiya, yaalampa=rni*
go+md.pf wood+abs break-md.pf bring+md.pf no exp=me

tjina tjilka-lu kultu-la."
foot+abs thorn-erg spear-md.pf

'("Go and break wood and bring it.") "No I don't want the

thorns to prick my feet."'

=I think the thorns will prick my feet (if I go and break wood

and bring it),

I don't want the thorns to prick my feet,

I say: I won't go and break wood and bring it because of that.

15. EXPECTATION 2 (UNFULFILLED)

I see that X has not happened,

I would have expected X to happen.

a. *Kurri=yaalampa kati-ma.* *Kurri* *tjinguru mirri.*
spouse+abs=exp bring-md.ipf spouse+abs perhaps dead

'He would have brought his wife, (if he had one). Perhaps his wife is dead.'

=I see that he has not brought his wife,

I would have expected him to bring his wife.

b. *Tjilku=yaalampa pitja* *tjirntu-ngka-lpi.* *Ngaanya*
child+abs =exp come+md.pf day-in-when this

mungarri-ngu.
become night-p.pf

'The child should have come when it was daylight. But now it's dark.'

=I see the child has not come in the daylight,

I would have expected him to come in the daylight.

16. ILLUSTRATIVE

I want you to understand about Y,

I know you have seen X happen,

I want you to imagine X happening,

because I tell you that Y is like that.

a. *Tjiinya-marntu mani purlka-tjarra-nya nyina-ku wiyarri-ngku.*
you know-because money big-with-def.abs sit-c.pf disappear-c.pf

Tjiinya=kurlu yalpurtarti ngara pikirri-wa.
you know=ill flower+abs stand+md.pf become dry-md.pf

Palunya-piriny-pa
that-like-abs

'Because, you know, a person with a lot of money will live for a while and then disappear. You know, think of how a yalpurtarti flower is there and then dries up. Like that.'

=I want you to understand about a person with a lot of money, I know you have seen a yalpurtarti flower be there and then dry up,
I want you to imagine a yalpurtarti flower being there and then drying up,
because I tell you a person with a lot of money is like that.

b. *Warlawurru=kurlu katurri-ngkula kaninytjarra mapitja, palunyatjanu*
eagle=ill rise-p.pt underneath go+md.pf and then.ss

ngula katu katurri-ngkula yilkari-kutu ya-rra.
later above rise-p.pt sky-to go-md.pf

Palunya-piriny-pa yarrapulayin-pa palya-rnu.
that-like-abs aeroplane-abs make-p.pf

'You know, think of how an eagle having arisen goes along underneath and then later having arisen higher goes right to the sky. They made an aeroplane like that.'

=I want you to understand about an aeroplane,

I know you have seen an eagle having arisen go along underneath

and then later having arisen go right to the sky,

I want you to imagine that,

because I tell you an aeroplane is like that.

17. COUNTER-ASSUMPTIVE 1

It looks like you think you can do X,

I don't want you to do X,

I say: you can not do X,

I assume you will not try to do X because I have told you.

a. *Pumpapalka=n nga-la kuka.*
ca=you eat-md.pf meat+abs

'You can't eat meat.' (said to a small child).

=It looks like you think you can eat meat,

I don't want you to eat meat,

I say: you can't eat meat,

I assume you won't try to do it because I have told you.

b. *Pumpapalka=yan medicine-ku papa-tjarra pitja.*
ca=you medicine-for dog-with come+md.pf

'You can't come with dogs for medicine.'

=It looks like you think you can come with dogs for medicine,

I don't want you to come with dogs for medicine,

I say: you can't come with dogs for medicine,

I assume you will not try to do it because I have told you.

18. COUNTER-ASSUMPTIVE 2

It looks like somebody thinks X would be a good thing,

I don't want you to think X would be a good thing,

I say: X would not be a good thing,

I assume you won't try to do it/try to cause someone to do it because I have told you.

a. *Pumpapalka=lin nyina-rra-nyina-rra tinarri-ngama.*
ca=we two.inc sit-p.pt-sit-p.pt become midday-md.ipf

'We can't sit here until dinner-time.'

=It looks like you think it would be a good thing for us to sit here until dinner time,

I don't want you to think it would be a good thing for us to sit here until dinner-time,

I say: it would not be a good thing for us to sit here until dinner-time,

I assume you will not try to do it because I have told you.

b. *Pumpapalka=rna pamparr-pamparr-tu mantji-la palunyalu kata*
ca=I hastily-erg get-md.pf &.ss head+abs

pampu-la.
touch-md.pf

'One can't hastily get someone and lay hands on him (for ordination).'

=It looks like somebody thinks it would be a good thing to hastily get someone and lay hands on him,

I don't want you to think it would be a good thing to hastily get someone and lay hands on him,

I say: it would not be a good thing to hastily get someone and lay hands on him,

I assume you will not try to do it because I have told you.

19. COUNTER-ASSUMPTIVE 3

It looks like you think A would do X/could have done X,

I don't want you to think that A would do X/could have done X,

I say: it's foolish to think that A would do X/could have done X,

I assume you won't think that because I have told you.

a. *Pumpapalka yangupala-lu marlu yatu-la ninti-la.*
ca young man-erg kangaroo+abs shoot-md.pf give-md.pf

'Young men won't kill kangaroos and give them to you.'

=It looks like you think young men would kill kangaroos and give them (to you),

I don't want you to think that young men would kill kangaroos and give them (to you),

I say: it's foolish to think that young men would kill kangaroos

and give them (to you),

I assume you won't think that because I have told you.

b. *Papa ngaa-lu pumpapalka nga-la kuka wiya-la.*
dog this-erg ca eat-md.pf meat+abs finish-md.pf

'This dog couldn't have eaten all the meat.'

=It looks like you think this dog could have eaten all the meat,

I don't want you to think that this dog could have eaten all the meat,

I say: it's foolish to think that this dog could have eaten all the meat,

I assume you won't think that because I have told you.

20. COUNTER-HYPOTHETICAL

Somebody could think X would happen,

I say: X would not happen.

a. *Kamu nganyirrirri-ku palunya.*
ch become wild-ig.pf that

'He wouldn't get angry.'

=Somebody could think he would get angry,

I say: he wouldn't get angry.

b. *Kunpu-kunpu kamu kutipitja-ku.*
for nothing ch go-ig.pf

'(They) wouldn't go for no reason (i.e. without being sent by God.)'

=Somebody could think they would go for no reason,

I say: they wouldn't go for no reason.

21. PROHIBITIVE

I think you could do X,

I think you will do X if I don't say something,

I say: I don't want you to do it,

I assume you won't do it because I have told you.

a. *Tjulurraa-lku=kurlu=pulan.*
start-ig.pf=pro=you two

'Mind you two don't get a fright.'

=I think you two could get a fright,

I think you will get a fright if I don't say something,

I say: I don't want you two to get a fright,

I assume you won't get a fright because I have told you.

b. *Kuli-la. Kapi=kurlu=n tjiki-lku wiya-lku.*
listen-md.pf water+abs=pro=you drink-ig.pf finish-ig.pf

'Listen! Mind you don't drink all the water.'

=I think you could drink all the water,

I think you will drink all the water if I don't say something,

I say: I don't want you to drink all the water,

I assume you won't do it because I have told you.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ngaanyatjarra is a dialect of Western Desert. It belongs to the Wati Sub-group of the South-West Group of the Pamanyungan family (Oates 1975:109). Ngaanyatjarra and its very closesly related dialect Ngaatjatjarra are spoken by approximately 1,000 people resident at Warburton Ranges, Jameson, Blackstone, Giles, Cosmo Newbery and Laverton in Western Australia. Some speakers also live at Docker River in the Northern Territory.

2. This study is based on material gathered by the author and her colleague, Dorothy Hackett, at Warburton Ranges during a continuous period from 1963-1978 and in periodic visits since then. Most of the material was written up during a period of study at the Australian National University in 1981, and I wish to thank Professor Robert Dixon for making available the facilities there. I wish to thank him also for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this monograph; I also wish to thank Dr. Harold Koch, Dr. Anna Wierzbicka, Cliff Goddard, Dorothy Hackett and Wilf Douglas.

3. I am indebted to Maria Hari (1973:251) for the idea of viewing coordination etc. as an operation. "Examples like this suggest that we should regard coordination not as a sentence type, but as an operation which can be applied to various units."

4. I am indebted to Dr. Mary Laughren for questioning my previous analysis and thereby forcing me to take yet another look at the data which led me to the verb-cluster analysis.

5. Wierzbicka, Anna, 1980.

6. For a description of non-verbal clauses see Glass & Hackett 1970:94-97.

7. Ngaanyatjarra has an ergative-absolutive case-marking system for nouns but nominative-accusative for pronouns. However 'subject', for the purpose of juncture strategies and other syntactic relations, is nominative, like the pronoun but unlike the noun morphology.

8. One verb conjugation has zero for the modal perfective suffix.

9. The use of the term participle follows a tradition in the description of Western Desert that began with Trudinger (1943) who called it 'verbal participle 2'. It differs from the participle of Indo-European in that it does not take nominal morphology and it does not modify the noun.

10. There are many dialect variations of the past perfective extensive: *anu* and *-yirnu* are two of these.

11. In Ngaanyatjarra verbs of seeing as well as speaking commonly introduce direct quotes. This is described in section 3.5.

12. In Ngaanyatjarra *ka* is a contraction of *nyangka* and some speakers tend to use one rather than the other.

13. In studies on switch-reference there has been considerable discussion of the inclusion principle; that is, what happens when the subject of one clause or sentence is included in the subject of the contiguous clause or sentence. When this happens switch-reference markers usually do not occur. In Ngaanyatjarra this inclusion principle operates between sentences. (Glass, 1980: 69-73). However within the sentence the inclusion principle does not operate and the switch-reference conjunction occurs as in example (15).

14. It has been suggested that a clause without a finite verb should not be considered a full clause. However I consider that since suffixation rather than pre-posed function words is the means of indicating grammatical relations in Ngaanyatjarra, '*pitjanyangka*' and 'when he comes' are equally valid encodings of a subordinate clause.

15. With an NP the aversive case-marking is *-ngkartarra*.

16. I have used single quotes for the names of those adverbial clauses which are less obviously technical terms.

17. This example has a nominalized clause with absolutive case-marking and a relator similarly case-marked. For this reason it is difficult to define the extent of the clause, since case-marking on the clause and on the relator are normally mutually exclusive.

18. I am indebted to Cliff Goddard for the term ergative concord.

19. I presume that the lack of the *-lu* ergative concord here is due to the fact that the subordinate clause is relating to the final intransitive verb rather than the matrix verb which is a participle.

20. The negative normally shows ergative concord. However since it most commonly occurs with the transitive verb *wanti* 'leave it', some speakers are tending to use the ergative even with the intransitive matrix verbs.

21. This example shows the principle of inclusion where the subject of the matrix clause is included in the subject of the 'purpose' clause and is counted as same-subject. See Glass (1980:69-73).

22. The first syntactic unit may be an NP consisting of more than one word as in the following example:

Wati nyarra-lu=palka waru ngaatja kati warni.
man that-erg=cf firewood+abs here bring+md.pf throw+md.pf

'I wish that man would bring firewood here.'

23. Although there are two sentence types marked by =*kurlu*, they are quite dissimilar in that they occur with different tense/moods and occur in totally different contexts.

24. I am most grateful for the help of Mrs. Nancy Fox and Mrs. Sylvia Richards, Ngaanyatjarra speakers of Warburton Ranges, in the analysis of the non-indicative sentences.

25. My analysis of the non-indicative sentences is still continuing and undergoing modification as we collect further examples. Nonetheless I consider it worthwhile to set out my present understanding of them.

26. This is an example of the hypothetical use of the first person singular. It is similar to the English use of 'you' to mean 'anyone'.

27. The normal negative is a subordinate structure as shown in section four, example (57).

REFERENCES

DOUGLAS, Wilfrid H. 1964. *An Introduction to the Western Desert Language*, revised edition. Sydney: Oceania Linguistic Monographs.

GLASS, Amee. 1975. *Ngaanyatjarra Word List*. Kalgoorlie: United Aborigines Mission Language Department.

_____. 1979. 'The Sentence: Boundaries and Basic Types in Ngaanyatjarra Narratives'. In Christine A. Kilham, (ed), *Work Papers of SIL-AAB Series A Volume 3*. Darwin: SIL

_____. 1980. *Cohesion in Ngaanyatjarra Discourse*. M.A. thesis, ANU.

_____ and Dorothy HACKETT. 1970. *Pitjantjatjara Grammar: A Tagmemic View of the Ngaanyatjara (Warburton Ranges) Dialect*. Canberra: AIAS.

_____ and _____. 1979. *Ngaanyatjarra Texts*, revised edition. Canberra: AIAS.

HARI, Maria. 1973. 'Tentative Systemic Organization of Nepali Sentences'. In Austin Hale, (ed), *Clause, Sentence and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal*. SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, no 40.

OATES, Lynette F. 1975. *The 1973 Supplement to a Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia*. Armidale: Armidale Christian Book Centre.

WIERZBICKA, Anna. 1980. *Lingua Mentalis*. Sydney - New York: Academic Press.

WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

NOTE: This is a revised price list. Due to rising postage rates, prices quoted are now basic prices plus handling and do not include postage. Discounts are available on quantity orders. All enquiries should be made to:

Bookseller
Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
P.O. Berrimah
Darwin, Northern Territory 5788
Australia

Series A

Volume 1: *Five Papers in Australian Phonologies*, ed. J. Hudson
vii + 204 pp. October 1977 — $3.90, 530 g.

(Alyawarra phonology; A tentative description of the phonemes of the Ngalkbun language [including a small word list]; Notes on rhythmic patterning in Iwaidja; What are contrastive syllables? The Wik-Munkan picture; A phonological analysis of Fitzroy Crossing Children's Pidgin.)

Volume 2: *Papers on Iwaidja Phonology and Grammar*, N. Pym
xiii + 253 pp. April 1979 — $4.10, 480 g.

(Two papers on phonology, five on grammar. First extensive description of Iwaidja. Phonologically interesting [5 stop series, but 4 laterals] as well as grammatically [a prefixing language with no noun classes and no case marking].)

Volume 3: *Four Grammatical Sketches: From Phrase to Paragraph*, ed. C. Kilham, vii + 128 pp. September 1979 — $3.30, 280 g.

(Notes on paragraph division in Tiwi; The sentence: boundaries and basic types in Ngaanyatjarra narratives; Clause types in Gugu-Yalanji; The Walmatjari noun phrase.)

Volume 4: *A Distinctive Features Approach to Djinang Phonology and Verb Morphology*, B. Waters
ix + 159 pp. December 1979 — $3.30, 330 g.

Volume 5: *Australian Phonologies: Collected Papers*, ed. B. Waters
xiii + 269 pp. December 1981 $4.80 490 g.

(Syllable length and stress in Nunggubuyu; Burarra, Kala Lagaw Ya [Saibai Dialect], Anindilyakwa, Murinbata phonologies; Burarra orthography; high level phonology in Walmatjari; use of the symbol ny in Australian Aboriginal orthographies.)

Volume 6: *Papers in Warlpiri Grammar: In Memory of Lothar Jagst*,
ed. S. Swartz, xii + 315 pp. June 1982 $5.80 550 g.

(L. Jagst, A tentative description of Ngardilpa [Warlpiri] verbs; D. Nash, Warlpiri verb roots and preverbs; K. Hale, Essential features of Warlpiri clauses; S. Swartz, Syntactic structure of Warlpiri clauses; M. Laughren, A preliminary description of propositional particles in Warlpiri.)

Volume 7: *Ngaanyatarra Sentences*, A. Glass
xii + 93 pp. February, 1983 $3.50 230 g

(Describes grammatical structure of the Sentence and meaning and usage of various sentence types.)

Volume 8: *Grammatical and Semantic Aspects of Fitzroy Valley Kriol*,
J. Hudson Forthcoming

Series B

Volume 1: *The Walmatjari: An Introduction to the Language and Culture* (2nd, slightly revised printing), J. Hudson, E. Richards, P. Siddon, P. Skipper *et al.*
vii + 109 pp. May 1978 $3.50 320 g.

Volume 2: *Papers in Literacy and Bilingual Education*,
ed. E. Richards, vii + 147 pp. November 1978 $3.50 390 g.

(Northern Territory bilingual education [with a preview of a selection of programmes in six other countries]; Teaching aids for Tiwi; Transition from Australian Aboriginal languages to English: as it applies to children in bilingual schools; A literacy programme for maximum compatibility with teaching methods used in Australian schools.)

Volume 3: *An Australian Creole in the Northern Territory: A Description of Ngukurr-Bamyili Dialects (Part 1)*,
J.R. Sandefur, vii + 185 pp. February 1979 $4.30 470 g.

(Historical background and introduction to pidgins and creoles; phonology, orthography and grammar. Most extensive description of 'Roper Creole' published.)

Volume 4: *Beginnings of a Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole Dictionary*, J.R. and J.L. Sandefur, v + 136 pp. February, 1979 — $4.00, 360 g.

(Creole to English: approx. 2725 entries.)

Volume 5: *An Introduction to Conversational Kriol*, J.R. and J.L. Sandefur, xix + 74 pp. - 6 sound cassettes (360 minutes) February 1981 — *$20.00, 610 g.

(Manual with 30 lessons, each containing conversation, vocabulary, drills, grammar notes; stories by different Kriol speakers; tips on language learning; six 60-minute cassettes using Kriol speakers and keyed to manual.)

Manual only — $4.50, 210 g.

*SPECIAL OFFER: We are now offering Series B Vol. 3 and Vol. 4 at the discount price of $3.00 each with the purchase of Series B, Vol. 5 (manual and tapes).

Volume 6: *Literacy in an Aboriginal Context*, ed. S. Hargrave ix + 133 pp. April 1981 — $4.00, 290 g.

(Cultural considerations in vernacular literacy programmes for traditionally oriented adult Aborigines; Characteristics of Aboriginal cognitive abilities: Implications for literacy and research programmes; A suggested strategy for an Alyawarra literacy programme from a community development viewpoint; Vernacular literacy for Warlpiri adults; Developing a literature for Kriol.)

Volume 7: *Kuku-Yalanji Dictionary*, comps. H. and R. Hershberger vii + 294 pp. April 1982 — $5.50, 490 g.

(Three sections: vernacular to English [approx. 2500 vernacular entries]; English to vernacular; Introduction to the grammar of Kuku-Yalanji, written in non-technical style.)

Volume 8: *Language and Culture*, ed. S. Hargrave. December 1982 — $5.50, 410 g.

(J. Kirton with N. Timothy, Some thoughts on Yanyuwa language and culture; H. Geytenbeek, Nyangumarta Kinship: A woman's viewpoint; J. Stokes, A description of the mathematical concepts of Groote Eylandt Aborigines; J. Harris, Facts and fallacies of Aboriginal number systems; B. Sayers, Aboriginal mathematical concepts; S. Hargrave, A report on colour term research in five Aboriginal languages.)

Also available: ***Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch***, up to August 1981. Compiled by Else Jagst — $1.00, 80 g.